

# SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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**SOCIOLOGY CLUB**  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII



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NOVEMBER, 1941  
HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.

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FOREWORD  
MAN KWONG AU

*Social Process in Hawaii*, published under the auspices of the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii, makes its 1941 appearance in a world distraught by many contending forces. More than ever before, Hawaii is a center of local, national, and international interest and attention. The Islands have often been referred to as a sociological laboratory and a valuable testing ground for problems in human nature and social relationships. Hawaii's role in this regard has become even more important in 1941 with the increasing complexities in Island life brought about by world conditions.

In all of the six annual editions so far published, the editors of *Social Process in Hawaii* have attempted to maintain a standard of impartiality based on scientific data. The writers have endeavored to give the layman a more vivid and realistic understanding of the people of Hawaii and their institutions through the application of social theory. Still with this purpose, the Sociology Club introduces the seventh edition of *Social Process in Hawaii* devoted to a discussion of "Social Movements in Hawaii."

The instability and uncertainty of life make human beings for the most part dissatisfied and goal-seeking creatures. They are always on the move, searching for new and better channels of social recognition, striving to work out solutions for their hopes and aspirations. This is especially observable in cross-current areas where racial and linguistic groups mix and where crucial social and cultural problems are always evident. From such spontaneous interstimulation, social movements inevitably emerge. Sociologically defined, a social movement is a conscious collective attempt to establish a new way of life. It is a consequence of much inchoate dissatisfaction, unrest, and milling, leading to efforts to effect a new order. Hawaii's varied cultural situation has been conducive to the rise of many such movements. Some have quickly passed, and others have become institutionalized. They have brought adventure, joy, and satisfaction to many, on the one hand, and despair, frustration, unresolved conflict, and emotional instability on the other. It is of such material that the discussions in this issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* consist.

The introductory article by Andrew W. Lind provides a survey of the outstanding types of social movements which a frontier region such as Hawaii tends to call forth. The missionary movement is presented as one of the most significant developments in the social life of Hawaii, particularly as a contribution to the morale of the native and the immigrant-labor groups. Similarly, certain off-shoots of the missionary movement, such as the Y.M.C.A. and the "service clubs," are represented as religious in function by affording their members socially sanctioned and challenging objectives although they are largely secular in method and outlook. The third important type of social movements characteristic of Hawaii are nationalistic and nativistic in charac-

ter, although they also have a religious function.

The role of leadership in giving expression to the aimless strivings of the masses and in resolving their conflicting desires and hopes is illustrated in the account of the *Daishi-Do*, a variant form of Shingon Buddhism discussed by Masako Agena and Eiko Yoshinaga, student majors in sociology. The particular manifestation of *Daishi-Do* was initiated through the work of a prophet-leader, a former sugar plantation laborer and unsuccessful fortune hunter, who received his mission through a vision. Inspired by this call, he gathered a following which met regularly to perform the rituals of the cult.

Similar to the *Daishi-Do*, but wider in their appeal, are the Sacred Stones of Wahiawa, discussed in the article by Henry Lum and M. Miyazawa, entitled "*An Abortive Religious Cult.*" This indigenous religious movement which had its inception in 1927 attracted a huge following of diverse racial groups. Soon many flocked to Wahiawa where they paid reverential respects to these awe-inspiring and magic-working stones. Lum and Miyazawa describe in some detail the steps by which this movement developed toward an institution and the circumstances of its decay and dissolution. This account suggests the way in which other interracial religious movements may arise in Hawaii.

Of current political and sociological interest is the attempt of David Thompson to characterize the Filipino Federation of America, Incorporated, as a social institution with a natural history. It is the writer's thesis that in the life and history of Hilario Moncado, deified Filipino leader, is also revealed the nature and growth of the Filipino Federation of America. Thompson in this article points out the many frustrations and balked dispositions of the early Filipino immigrants to Hawaii and the manner in which Moncado appeared at the opportune moment as a prophet of a new order in which their deepest desires were to be realized.

Emeritus Professor of Sociology and population expert, Romanzo Adams, provides new and valuable additions to the available picture of population trends in Hawaii. His account is a continuation of his article in the 1940 edition of *Social Process* dealing with the population shifts occurring in Hawaii for the past decade. He now contrasts his predictions of many years of local population growth with the recently published 1940 census reports. During the past year, Hawaii has grown in numbers both from within and without.

Bernhard Hormann, sociology instructor at the University of Hawaii, treats the problem of Military, naval and civil-morale locally from the angles of geographical isolation and the inadequacy of intimate contacts. He states that "it is this isolation from home, friends, from one's centers of cultural creativity and the consequent lack of mental stimulation—these are involved in the process of deterioration" or demoralization.

"The Social Effects of Increased Income of Defense Workers of Oriental Ancestry" provides an interesting clue to the problem of national defense. Miss Yukiko Kimura, Japanese Secretary of

the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. declares that the skyrocketing of wages in the community has important psychological and sociological repercussions. The removal of the individual from the influence of family and kin has frequently wrought havoc to moral habits, and drinking, gambling, and other forms of vice have increased greatly among defense workers. The sudden projection of many people into a higher plane of living has brought serious maladjustments in family and community.

Dr. Ferris Laune's discussion, "A note on Social Work Training in Hawaii," is a historical summary of the local humanitarian movement with a brief account of the trend of techniques utilized by social workers.

Finally, the editors wish to call attention to the fact that in this as in previous issues of *Social Process in Hawaii*, they are not responsible for the points of view or the positions held by the writers of the articles. They also wish to express their indebtedness to Mrs. Katherine N. Lind for editorial assistance and to the National Youth Administration for clerical assistance.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE

The last line of proof of the 1941 issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* was completed on the 6th of December. The treacherous attack by Japan upon Oahu the following day and the entrance of the United States into the war have naturally greatly altered the Island situation which *Social Process* seeks to interpret and necessitates some revision of the material which is presented. One article has been omitted entirely as being inappropriate for publication at the present time and minor changes have been made in several other articles. The reader's indulgence for the restricted size of the journal and the delay in publication, as well as the somewhat sketchy form of certain articles, is earnestly requested.

#### SOME TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN HAWAII

ANDREW W. LIND

Throughout the century and a half of contact with the western world, Hawaii has been, and still is, very much of a frontier region. It has been an *el dorado* to which men especially have flocked in search of fortune. Until recently Hawaii has grown in population chiefly through immigration rather than from births, and as late as 1940 the ratio of women to men in the adult population was only about 575 to 1000. As a consequence, Hawaii has been a region of profound and continuous social change, where old customs and values have been challenged and frequently discarded, and where new modes of life have necessarily evolved. Like all frontiers, Hawaii has afforded a rich laboratory for the observation of social movements.

The migrants to Hawaii came from at least a dozen major areas of the earth with widely contrasting cultural and economic systems, and Hawaii's social history is largely a record of the varied efforts to reconcile these differences. Many of the immigrant institutions, it is true, could function quite effectively with little modification, at least for a time; but for most the social situation differed so greatly from that of the homeland that a new organization of the old country folkways was evolved in Hawaii. The initial stages of many of the contemporary institutions in Hawaii may be traced in the varied social movements by which the immigrants have collectively "sought to establish a new order of life."<sup>1</sup>

No complete account is possible of all the significant social movements in the Territory of Hawaii, but an attempt will be made in the following pages to present the chief characteristics of certain of the more important types.

The incipient stages of all social movements are marked by widespread social disorganization, in the sense that the mores and institutions have broken down, and the traditional definitions of life and conduct no longer satisfy the masses.

Local historians have long recognized that the world-renowned missionary movement, which swept nearly twenty thousand persons (nearly a third of the adult population) into the Protestant church in Hawaii within a period of four years was preceded by an extended period of social unrest in which the natives had lost confidence in the old order of life, including its technology, moral system, and its leaders.<sup>2</sup> In similar manner each of the other social movements in Hawaii was born out of some serious break in the on-going current of communal life as a result of which large numbers of people were frustrated, uncertain, restless. The collective effort to reorganize life upon a more secure and satisfying basis may give rise to the most diverse

1 Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements," in R. E. Park (ed.), *Principles of Sociology*, (New York, 1939), p. 255.

2 Andrew W. Lind, "Modifications of Hawaiian Character," in E. B. Reuter (ed.), *Race and Culture Contacts* (New York, 1934), pp. 230-38.

movements—strikes, religious revivals, nativistic or nationalistic movements, political reforms, fads or fashions. All of these have been observed in varied forms in Hawaii.

### *The Missionary Movement*

The social changes inaugurated by the handful of Protestant missionaries who landed in Hawaii in 1820 have naturally attracted wide attention because of the dramatic conversion which occurred less than a generation after the arrival of the original missionary company. So widespread and rapid was collective religious conversion that competent observers in all seriousness referred to Hawaii as "Christianized" in 1841.

... the constitution, laws, institutions, and religious professions were as decidedly Christian as in any of the older nations of Christendom. There were no other acknowledged religions, no other acknowledged worship. They had the Sabbath, Christian churches, and a Christian ministry; and their literature, so far as they had any, was almost wholly Christian. Theirs were some of the largest churches in the world, and as great a proportion of the people attending the Sabbath worship, as in any Christian nation.<sup>3</sup>

A contagious enthusiasm for the new faith and learning is revealed in the early accounts of the missionaries. Within three years of their arrival in the Islands (1823) "the whole mass of the people (of Oahu) seem to be anxiously looking to us (missionaries) for books and instruction," and by 1831, "about one third of the people in the islands (had) been brought into schools and one half of these taught to read."<sup>4</sup>

A religious fervor of epidemic proportions is evident in the "Great Awakening" of 1836-38 when according to the missionaries

... The word seemed to fall on the hearts of sinners like the hammer and the fire of the Almighty. Many wept and many trembled ... Many came from the distance of fifty and sixty miles to hear the gospel. It was a season of deep and solemn interest. God's word was with power, and his work was glorious. Multitudes wept and trembled, and hundreds evidently think they are converted.

Stupid natives became good hearers, the imbecile began to think, the groveling sensualist with a dead conscience showed signs of deep feeling.<sup>5</sup>

The manifestations of religious excitement, on the part of both the *haole* missionaries and the native converts, were surprisingly similar to those apparent in the United States at about the same period. Protracted meetings were held with emotional exhortations on the "sin and danger of refusing an offered Saviour" which in some instances broke forth into

... uncontrollable state (s) of tumultuous feeling, both on the part of the pastor and the people. The pastor, in some instances, des-

3 Rufus Anderson, *A Heathen Nation Evangelized: History of the Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Sandwich Islands* (Boston, 1884), pp. 169-70.

4 Missionary Letters in possession of Hawaii Mission Childrens' Library, Honolulu, Vol. I, p. 147.

5 Missionary Herald, 34 (1838), pp. 276-77; Rufus Anderson, *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

cended from the pulpit, and paced through the ... congregations, preaching and gesticulating with intense emotion. Sometimes all the members of a large congregation were permitted to pray aloud at once ... Many expressed their fears and some of guilt by audible groans and loud cries. Feelings were not restrained ... and ... burst forth in shrieks and loud lamentations.<sup>6</sup>

The wave of hysterical religious expression soon passed, however, with widespread "backsliding." The congregations of three and four thousand in a single community diminished to as many hundred, and frequently strong reactions to missionary values occurred. But despite the "backsliding" and reactions, the social movement inaugurated in 1820 by the Protestant missionaries took form in customs, laws, and institutions of paramount significance in Hawaii's subsequent history. Milder expressions of religious revivals appeared also in 1860 and 1861 with somewhat similar reactions later.

The shifting fortunes of the missionary enterprise in Hawaii, as yet inadequately presented in any history of the Islands, may best be comprehended in a series of minor and variant social movements, such as Mormonism, Catholicism, Anglicism, Nativism, and in such economic developments as the plantation, with its attendant immigration of strange culture groups. The original Protestant branch of the missionary movement had become sufficiently stabilized by 1848 that the American sponsors felt justified in withdrawing their financial support, and the Hawaiian Evangelical Association founded in 1863 has functioned continuously since as the institutionalized guardian and perpetuator of the missionary tradition. Its present (1940) membership of 14,461 is a somewhat feeble reflection of its earlier influence; in 1863 approximately one third of the total Hawaiian population were recorded as members of the Protestant church, observing the major definitions of conduct which it imposed. In the process of institutionalization, the Protestant missionary movement has unquestionably followed the patterns of most evolving Protestant sects in America and Europe; it has become middle class in its economic point of view, conciliatory in theology and moral discipline, and compromising in social policy.

The Catholic and Mormon phases of the missionary movement, introduced in Hawaii in 1827 and 1850 respectively, manifest somewhat more of the institutional imprint from the very outset; and although missionaries of both, down to the present day, reflect an evangelizing zeal of high intensity, there has unquestionably been a higher degree of conformity to the traditional ideology, ritual, and policy of the mother church than was true of their Congregational and Presbyterian predecessors. There is no record of highly emotional religious revivals, such as occurred in the Protestant mission during the thirties. The Catholic influence at present is strongest among the immigrant groups such as the Portuguese, Spanish, and Filipinos, which are traditionally Catholic. It is significant, however, that the Mormon

6 Sheldon Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, p. 348.

movement has been entirely propagated by a succession of some 946 missionaries between 1850 and 1940 who have maintained themselves in the field without scrip or purse or at their own expense. The enthusiasm and devotion of these lay missionaries is revealed by the steady expansion of the movement especially among the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian population, and more recently among the Japanese. The membership, adhering to the rigorous Mormon code of moral controls, such as tithing, refraining from the use of alcoholic drinks, tobacco, tea, coffee, and other stimulating beverages, is reported to be 15,000 in 1940.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Secular Religions and Philanthropic Movements*

The religious fervor of the missionary movement was not wholly spent within the church and the formal institutions of the church. A number of highly significant offshoots of the missionary tradition have appeared in the form of what Dr. R. E. Park has called "secular religions." Sharing much of the high moral purpose and zealous conviction of the missionary forebears but directing their efforts to more worldly and practical ends, the founders and participants in a number of reform and philanthropic movements of modern Hawaii may properly be conceived as missionaries. Among the more significant and typical of these secular descendants of the missionary movement are the local Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, certain of the "Service" associations, and local welfare and philanthropic movements. Although the basic patterns for most of these movements have been borrowed from the American mainland, the Hawaiian manifestations have been sufficiently distinctive to merit passing consideration in this survey.

The Young Men's Christian Association, organized in Honolulu in 1869, just 25 years after the inception of the movement in London, England, illustrates to a remarkable degree the outstanding characteristics of a secular religion. Chief among the purposes outlined by the initiators of the movement in Hawaii were the "moral and social improvement of ourselves and others," and objectives of an immediate and practical intent have characterized the movement ever since.<sup>8</sup> While lacking none of the fervor and zeal of their missionary parents, the early participants in the Christian Association, including members of such prominent missionary families as those of Andrews, Castle, Clarke, Cooke, Damon, Emerson, Judd and Lyons, directed their efforts to "good works" of a somewhat secular nature—the cultivation of friendship, instruction of immigrants in the English language, lectures on moral and social, as well as religious questions.

Confirmation of the familiar theses of Tawney and Weber regarding the interrelationship between capitalism and religion,

<sup>7</sup> The Seventh Day Adventists, another aggressive religious sect, still in the expansive, proselyting phase of its life process, is making rapid gains in Hawaii, and is among the most genuinely inter-racial of the various religious sects operating in Hawaii. At the present stage of its development, race consciousness is largely subdued by an intense and pervasive religious zeal. There is some evidence, however, of the gradual appearance of racial distinctions as the sect matures.

<sup>8</sup> Membership Bulletin of the Honolulu Y.M.C.A., July, 1940.

especially in its Puritanical forms, may readily be found in the history of the Y.M.C.A. in the Hawaiian community. The roster of charter members, as well as the lists of the active participants throughout its history of eighty years, includes many of the most influential figures in the economic and social life of the territory. It is probable that the instruction in thrift<sup>9</sup> and the other moral virtues of a commercial society derived through the Y.M.C.A. have contributed somewhat to their success in the economic struggle, while the practical service motive of the Y.M.C.A. which has emphasized good works over mere religious piety appealed strongly to the successful businessman. Also, in a secular and pragmatic temper have been such characteristic activities of the Y.M.C.A. as the gymnasium and physical education program in which the participants, frequently quite indifferent or even antagonistic to the rest of the Y.M.C.A. program, pay a standard fee to learn how to swim, wrestle, or reduce. Educational classes ranging from marriage preparation and social dancing to public speaking or woodcarving have in recent years been among the popular activities of the "Y" for those who could pay the price. Even the discussion group and the conference, activities which are almost synonymous with the name Y.M.C.A. are by their nature secular and critical and call into question the accepted moral and religious values. When the mores are open for discussion, it is a sign that they are no longer followed uncritically. The adoption of these activities by the church is an indication also of its tendency toward secularity.

The disposition to adjust readily to each changing situation rather than to adhere blindly to the values of the past is revealed in the wide range of secular activities which the Y.M.C.A. has promoted during its history.

The Institute of Pacific Relations, which has glorified and refined the conference techniques of the Y.M.C.A., the Governor's Unemployment Relief Plan and the Unemployment Relief Gardens of the early thirties, the vocational guidance movement, have either been born within the Y.M.C.A. or have derived much of their impetus from it.

Consistent with the local expectations and customs, the Y.M.C.A. in Hawaii has maintained a broad public policy of interracial cooperation, despite the practice in many mainland communities of rigid differentiation on racial lines. The history of the interracial policy of the Y.M.C.A. provides an interesting example of accommodations to the changing attitudes in the community—from a missionary service of education and conversion of the lowly immigrant, to a reluctant acceptance of the immigrants and their sons in segregated units, to a ten per cent rule of membership in the Central Y.M.C.A., and finally to a policy of virtual equality in membership and leadership. The ready disposition of the Y.M.C.A. to yield to the growing demands for equality of treatment by a vocal and educated second generation

<sup>9</sup> The Honolulu Y.M.C.A. has maintained for many years a Thrift Committee to assist in the propagation of the idea of thrift in the local community.

of Oriental ancestry has contributed largely to the success of the Y.M.C.A. in attracting the Oriental youth and in building their morals.

The Y.M.C.A. has long since passed out of the phase of a spontaneous movement, inspired and conducted wholly by its lay membership and is now largely carried along by a professional staff who reflect the policies and codes of the national movement. It is their task to infuse such secular activities as camping, the raising of money for a new building, or a forum on labor and capital, with the Christian idealism of the Founders. Despite the avowed principle that "religion is life," the efforts to create a religious atmosphere by opening board meetings with prayer or conducting conferences on "A Christian Personality in a Christian Society" frequently impress both professional leaders and lay members as somewhat unrealistic and weak.

"Service" clubs, such as Rotary, Lions, and the Y's men which have enjoyed a wide popularity in Hawaii during the past 25 years, are further secular variants of the missionary movement. The several hundred men who meet each week in a dozen different hotel dining rooms scattered over the Territory to call each other by their first names and to sing roistering songs of fellowship," are in most instances borne along by a collective enthusiasm comparable to that of the religious sect, and not infrequently they conceive of themselves as engaged in a holy cause of generating friendship and promoting "service." In each instance a well-established institution has been transplanted to the Island setting, but the peculiar circumstances of life have brought forth new expressions of the original movement.

The lofty goals of Rotary—"to foster the ideal of service . . . high ethical standards in business and professions . . . the advancement of international understanding, good will, and peace"—appeal strongly to men brought up in a missionary tradition who have grown impatient with an other-worldly piety. The opportunity of participating in socially recognized good works such as the promotion of scouting, boys' camps, hobby shows, sight conservation, vocational guidance, have been enthusiastically embraced by a large number of middle-class Island residents during the last twenty-five years. The Honolulu Rotary Club was established in 1915 as a luncheon club of "business and professional men united in fellowship and with an earnest desire to serve their fellow men in all walks of life and in all countries of the world."<sup>10</sup> Consisting as it did almost exclusively of upper middle-class haoles, the Honolulu Rotary and its Hilo offshoot, established in 1920, quite naturally called forth in Hawaii a rival service club designed to tap the philanthropic and convivial dispositions of the growing lower middle class of varied racial ancestries. The founding of the Honolulu Lions' Club in May 1926 is explained as follows:

Hawaii is known throughout the world for the friendly and tolerant spirit in which its people dwell together; the spirit of aloha which

<sup>10</sup> Honolulu Advertiser, March 10, 1940.

has come down from the Hawaiians themselves and permeates the life of the Islands as people of many races go about their daily tasks.

It seemed to this group of fifty (men of various racial ancestries) that this also was the spirit of Lionism and that Lions International was the one great service organization which fully expressed the ideal which they had in mind.<sup>11</sup>

Lions, with the advantage of a larger group from which to select, has outstripped Rotary in terms of both membership and the number of clubs,<sup>12</sup> but both organizations still reflect a high group spirit and an expansive mood.

It is interesting to observe that the Island culture and spirit have been reflected back upon the parent organizations in the case of both these service clubs. Honolulu Rotary prides itself upon having promoted the "advancement of international understanding, good will, and peace" through the first Pan-Pacific Rotary convention in Honolulu in 1926 in which representatives of clubs from seven countries bordering the Pacific assured each other of their mutual respect and good will and their faith in the international ideals of Rotary.

A world lies before us to be conquered, not by reeking tube, nor iron shard, poison gas and submarine, but by love and service.<sup>13</sup>

Resolutions were adopted, urging that similar conventions be held every two years thereafter, a plan which was actually consummated over a period of about ten years. Thus the conference procedure, so characteristic of the spirit and temper of the Islands, was extended to still another sphere.

The success of the Honolulu Lions' Club in deleting the word "white" from the constitution of the national organization is regarded as a major achievement in the promotion of the Island tradition of interracial amity. Likewise, within the Territory, the Lions' Club has unquestionably functioned as an important agency of integration within a multi-racial community. It is news even in Hawaii when a haole plantation manager and an Oriental storeroom clerk of the same plantation in apparent camaraderie share in a common meal and in the planning of needed reforms within the plantation community. Even granting that the equality<sup>14</sup> and the intimacy of relations are more apparent than real, the gesture is significant as a public departure from the formal etiquette of race relations on the plantation.

#### *Nationalistic and Nativistic Movements*

It has frequently been said that nationalism is the modern man's religion. Having become critical of the supernaturalism

<sup>11</sup> Honolulu Star-Bulletin, January 4, 1938.

<sup>12</sup> Rotary has six clubs in Hawaii, three on Oahu and one on each of the three larger outlying islands, Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai with a total Territorial membership of about 300. Lions, on the other hand, has 14 different clubs, covering all islands including Molokai and Lanai. The territorial membership in Lions Clubs amounted to 777 in June, 1941.

<sup>13</sup> "Honolulu's Rotary International Conference, 1926," Thrum's Hawaiian Annual for 1927 (Honolulu, 1926), p. 60.

<sup>14</sup> The fraternizing of plantation personnel within the Lions Club in most of the rural areas extends only to clerical, proprietary, and professional classes of the Oriental groups, and the lower administrative and professional brackets within the haole community.

of most of the historic religions or finding their idealism too remote from the pressing problems of life, the modern man gropes for a cause which can stir his imagination and challenge his courage. To such a restless soul, the support of the fatherland or the "blood brotherhood" affords a goal and an objective worthy of being called religious.

Like most colonial areas, Hawaii has contributed greatly to the growth of nationalistic movements in the immigrant homeland. Not only did the father of the Chinese Revolution, Sun Yat Sen, receive a considerable part of his education in Honolulu, but Hawaii has been one of the important sources of moral and financial support for the nationalist movement in China. It was estimated that a total of \$542,000, or a per capita of \$15.24, was contributed by Island Chinese to the Chinese war and relief funds in 1938.<sup>15</sup> The Kuomintang and the Constitutionalist Party, each with a political reform mission to perform in China and a newspaper and a large language school to stimulate interest among the immigrants and their children, are two of the largest and most influential Chinese organizations in Hawaii.<sup>16</sup>

The small Korean community, consisting of less than seven thousand persons, of whom only about 2,300 were born in Korea, has generated a nationalistic sentiment out of all proportion to the size of the population or the importance of the movement in the home land. The 7,400 Koreans who arrived in Hawaii between January, 1903 and April, 1905<sup>17</sup> brought with them a tradition of national insecurity and frustration, and a considerable number were themselves political refugees from Korea. Sporadic efforts to assist in the building of an independent Korea were made by scattered groups of immigrants during the first few years of their residence in Hawaii, culminating in the Territorial organization in 1909 of a Korean National Association, with an estimated annual budget of \$35,000.

So intense was the enthusiasm for regaining of national independence, especially after the formal annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, that the means of attaining this objective became the one critical issue throughout the community. Even churches were torn into rival factions, not over the goal of independence, since that was assumed by all, but over the means—evolutionary or revolutionary—by which independence was to be achieved. One faction insisted that force was necessary, and they proceeded to prepare themselves by training in military tactics and discipline to fight for Korea. Units of this type were established on all the major islands, and a military school on windward Oahu to train leaders for the revolutionary movement in Korea had dramatic but short-lived existence.

The rival faction, under the leadership of an American trained scholar, placed its reliance upon less direct methods—edu-

cation of the young, political missions to Washington, and a system of propaganda to undermine Japanese prestige and of agents in China, Japan, Korea, and the United States to spread the news. They even went so far as to establish in Hawaii the framework of a Korean republic to assume the government of the nation once the time was ripe.

As a group, the second generation Koreans show a distinct lack of interest in the nationalistic aspirations and quarrels of the first generation. It is to be expected that the nationalistic movements among the Koreans, as well as the other immigrant groups, will either disappear within another generation or they will assume a greatly different character, perhaps as philanthropic or cultural institutions.

The nationalistic sentiments expressed within the Filipino community in Hawaii have been no less vocal than those of the Koreans, but they have probably not been so divisive and distracting in their effects. The two important patriotic and national holidays of the Philippines—December 30th, the anniversary of the martyrdom of the Filipino patriot, Jose Rizal, and November 15, commemorating the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1935—are celebrated with beauty contests, parades, banquets, patriotic addresses, and dances. Even in the most remote sections of the Islands, the Filipino immigrants are reminded, if only by the flying of the flag of the Philippines, of their common national aspirations at home. It is significant that the characteristically Filipino religious sect, the Filipino Federation of America, discussed by Mr. Thompson in this issue of *Social Process*, should have so strong a nationalistic flavor; and it is doubtless the common appeal to the common ideal of "independence for the Philippines" which has contributed so markedly to the religious or morale-building functions of the Federation.

The retention of at least the outward forms of native rule for over a century after the discovery of the Islands in 1778 is largely responsible for the few overt manifestations of nativistic movements in Hawaii. While Hawaii has been spared the more extreme and bizarre forms of nativism which have appeared in many colonial areas, there were, especially during the eighties and nineties of the last century, a number of expressions in weird cults and secret societies of a widespread unrest and malaise among the Hawaiians. The rapid decline of native population during the nineteenth century, the loss of their lands to the invaders, and the final collapse in the nineties of the one significant symbol of Hawaiian authority and prestige—the native monarchy—all served to undermine their sense of collective confidence and self-respect.

Compensations for the losses in group prestige and the failures in the competitive struggle were found in a variety of apocalyptic cults, orgiastic religious movements, and even a few minor political rebellions. The Kaona insurrection in 1868 is one of the most dramatic of these expressions. J. Kaona, a native of North Kona, educated in the Hilo Boarding School and Lahainaluna

15 Edwin G. Burrows, *Chinese and Japanese in Hawaii during the Sino-Japanese Conflict* (Honolulu, 1939), p. 32.

16 The latter has lost much of its nationalistic spirit with the passing of the years and has assumed somewhat more of a philanthropic function.

17 The period during which immigration from Korea was officially conducted.



Seminary, and subsequently a Police Magistrate, claimed to be a "divinely inspired prophet of the Lord Jehovah, and God-appointed head of the church on earth." Preaching a gospel of sudden destruction for all those outside the movement, he gathered a large number of natives to a communal program, combining elements of native culture with Christian ideology and ritual. Kaona claimed to be head of both church and state, and in October 1868 a large force of his followers "armed with clubs, stones, lassos, and yelling like fiends" resisted a company of deputies, come to dispossess them, killing two of the latter. Part of the fury of their attack was evidently directed toward the *haoles* who appeared to them as the forces of evil. The insurrection of 1889, in which the palace and government buildings were occupied for a short time by a force of about one hundred and fifty under the leadership of a part-native, was clearly directed against the growing influence of the foreigner. The revival of "kahunaism" or native priestcraft especially in the eighties and nineties, the organization by King Kalakaua of the "Hale Naha" for the perpetuation of native arts and crafts, the activities of the Home Rule Party during the 1900's, and the recurrent appearance of native religious sects are varied expressions of native unrest and groping for a new and more satisfying order of life.

Most of the social movements discussed in this paper have assumed a religious character in the sense that they have provided groups of people with a meaningful goal and purpose. Whether it be the garnering of souls, the extension of the ideals of "service" and "fellowship", or the promotion of the cause of the homeland, the movement has provided its participants with an object greater than themselves, frequently an object which has become for them holy. Movements of a more secular character have also occurred in Hawaii; and of these, the labor movement is unquestionably one of the most important. The variety of forms which it has assumed during the past century and a half, however, have been too diverse for any adequate discussion here. The account by Dr. Reinecke of the recent labor union movement presents one aspect only of this complex social phenomenon. The history of strikes, racial labor groups, and the labor press are still other aspects which merit consideration. The study of all of these social movements provides the student of society with the materials for the understanding of the institutions of tomorrow.

## "DAISHI-DO"—A FORM OF RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT MASAKO AGENA and EIKO YOSHINAGA

### Introduction

The term *Odai-san* which is a corrupted form of *Odaishi-sama* or *Kobo-Daishi*,<sup>1</sup> the name of the founder of the *Shingon* sect of Buddhism, is applied to the widespread religious and magical practices of a considerable number of the first generation Japanese in Hawaii. *Odai-san* is a popular form of the *Shingon-Shu*, but is practiced and operated independently by people not possessing the formal training and initiation required of the official priests. Worshippers of *Odai-san*, both leaders and followers, are frequently people of little education, and their religious rites are chiefly magical devices for effecting cures of the sick and handicapped. The present study is confined to the *M Daishi-Do* which is one of the few temples of *Kobo-Daishi* in Honolulu.<sup>2</sup>

The founding of this particular temple can best be traced to the striving for religious security and satisfaction on the part of one individual. Mr. M., the "priest"<sup>3</sup> of the *M Daishi-Do*, was once a common laborer at one of the sugar plantations in Oahu; but his high expectations of financial success were not realized and after a period of restless struggle he fled into the world of religion. He saw the vision of *Kobo-Daishi*, who bade him become a *Daishi* follower. He claims to have fasted for a whole week sitting on a banana leaf. Whether or not he actually did, his escape from reality was so complete as to leave no doubt in his mind about his divine visitation or its meaning as a result of his vision. He and his family came to the city where they operated a barber shop for a while and later began the worship of *Kobo-Daishi* in the M district.

There are many Japanese camps within the M community. The people of these camps gather at the main stores to gossip or to pour out their woes and troubles to gain the sympathy and understanding sometimes lacking at home. One of these groups, which gather before lunch or dinner, is composed chiefly of Japanese women immigrants; and the vague dissatisfactions of their home situations are quickly communicated especially when all are in a similar state of mental unrest and are highly susceptible to suggestions. Where two or three people's obvious state of unrest is communicated in a group, the latest discontent of an individual who otherwise might not recognize his restlessness is intensified, and he becomes a fit subject for either a sect or an

1 *Kobo-Daishi*: Founder of the *Shingon* sect. The *Shingon-Shu* ("Sect of True Word") was introduced in the Nara period, and became a power under Kukai (posthumously *Kobo*, 774-835, or the Propagator of the Law). *Kobo* secularized Buddhism by trying to unite the religion of mystical beliefs with the state. The propagator of the *Shingon* sect thus became also the originator of *Ryobu*, namely, Buddhistic Shinto, proclaiming that the imperial custom of "kami"—worship, is in reality but disguised adoration of Buddha. From, *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Edited by James Hastings, Volume VII, p. 483.

2 Many practitioners do not worship in elaborate temples, but only in their homes.

3 The lay priests of "Daishi-do" are frequently lacking in professional training or formal authority from the *Shingon* sect.

asylum. Into this group was introduced the story of the amazing healing power of Mr. M. He was said to have cured people of headaches, stomach-aches, and diseases which the doctors failed to cure; and the credulous women accepted these stories without hesitation. It is not improbable that Mr. M. had succeeded in curing certain functional diseases through the individual's faith in him, but the group would never accept so simple an explanation. Among this group were people whose acute mental instability demanded an object of faith and devotion which Mr. M.'s *Odai-san* offered at the most convenient time. The worship of the *Odai-san* provided a satisfactory release for their restlessness.

#### *The Expressive Crowd*

The people at Mr. M.'s *Odai-san* constituted an expressive crowd. For the most part they were at the lower end of the scale in education and social background. At *Odai-san*, everyone sat on the floor and read the Sutra or recited from memory with bowed head and folded hands. They became highly responsive to one another; their attention riveted upon the Sutra or Mr. M., who represented to them the "all magnificent *Kobo-Daishi*." In this condition, they were immune to ordinary objects and stimulations. They would not feel the numbness of their feet throughout the services nor the weariness of their bodies. Should their attention lag or wander from the Sutra or Mr. M. alone, the rhythmical reciting of the Sutra with the striking of the wooden gong gave them a feeling of unity and solidarity, and a common mood. Some secured further release of their tension by swaying their bodies left and right, some by violently shaking their folded hands, and some by the reading of the Sutra alone. With the lessening of self-control a feeling of joy or ecstasy suffused the individual.

One person said, "When I'm worried and when I don't know what to do, I go to a temple and pray out loud. Then I forget all the worries and I'm happy."

Extreme forms of ecstasy and exaltation were experienced by two middle-aged sisters. The following is an account related to us by Mrs. Y. who happened to be one of the earliest members of Mr. M.'s *Odai-san*.

Mrs. N., who was praying with frenzy, stood up and went up to the altar, lighted a bunch of incense and put the burning incense into her mouth. She cried out, "*Kobo-Daishi* said if I washed the sins out from my mouth, I'll become a saint."

Mr. M. seeing the unusual behavior touched her body with the rosary he had, but still kept on with his Sutra. Mrs. T. rushed up to her sister's side, grabbed the rosary Mr. M. had, and addressed her sister severely, "You Sinner, how dare you try to approach *Kobo-Daishi*. Move back! Move back!" Mrs. T. then dragged Mrs. N. by the hair and threw her on the floor. With this excitement everyone stopped reading the Sutra.

Mrs. T. approached me and said, "You worthless creature, confess your sins. *Kobo-Daishi* will damn your soul. *Kobo-Daishi* is with

me for he appeared before me." Her eyes were like an insane person's, blank and starry. I didn't answer her. She then, with Mr. M.'s rosary in hand, half-dancing and half-running went out of the house and crying at the top of her voice paraded several blocks down to King Street. Before she returned, we all went home hurriedly. After that I have never been to Mr. M.'s.<sup>4</sup>

Instead of the ecstatic feelings of the two ladies being transmitted to the other members, the crowd broke up for that day.

#### *The Religious Movement*

We have seen Mr. M.'s *Odai-san* in its incipient stage as a poorly organized and amorphous expressive movement. Mr. M.'s unrest and his escape to religion plus his power to create and hold a group of restless individuals formed the initial basis of an expressive movement. This *Odai-san* was not an entirely new religious movement, but a new unit designed according to the old forms found in Japan. Almost eight years after Mr. M. had begun worshipping *Kobo-Daishi*, his home was converted into a regular temple with an elaborate Buddhist altar. Membership was refined and regular; several recognized persons took charge of assemblages; and though much of the ritual was carried on in the same manner, the atmosphere was dignified and gave the impression of sacredness. Mr. M., although not having the degree of a priest, wore a kimono and a cloak showing rank in the religious world. The white kimono worn before he visited Japan several years ago was discarded after his return.

A social movement or a religious movement is not successful without the achievement of some sort of *esprit de corps*. The daily gatherings and worship at the incipient stage with Mr. M. as the recognized leader created among the expressive crowd a sense of belonging together, and gave to it a more permanent character. The group began to develop feelings of intimacy by the shared common experience and in isolation from the existing social order created a "select group of sacred souls." Rapport was further heightened through the repeated participation in the services. In the meantime, the rosary, the Sutra, the altar, and Mr. M. have become embodied in the minds of the worshippers as the symbols of *Kobo-Daishi* and his teachings. The phrase, *Namu-Daishi-Henjyo-Kongo* popularly embodied the ideology of *Odai-san*. The members, however, were not interested so much in the teachings of *Kobo-Daishi* or the ideology of *Odai-san* as in the emotional experience which they derived from the ceremonials in which the ideology was embodied. Mr. M. had become a sacred personage, not only as the primary guardian of the creed and ritual, but as an embodiment or symbol of the creed and ritual, as well. Many did not understand the Sutra, nor the background literature of *Odai-san*, but they believed in the existence of *Hotoke-Sama* (Buddha), and that plus their experiences were enough for them.

After the service, refreshments such as tea and Japanese

<sup>4</sup> Mr. M. is believed to go into trances and to communicate with the fox, a messenger of the God of Inari, but he is not credited with exorcism.

cookies were served, and in this somewhat informal manner, the people developed a sense of intimacy and common sympathy. The chattering of the worshippers as soon as the service terminated, no doubt added to the solidarity of the group. They nodded their heads as if in understanding when the other mentioned some kind of pain. In a group like this, the individual would sense a feeling of social acceptance not felt in isolation. Visitors were very much left alone, showing definitely a consciousness of "in-ness" and "outness." Services were conducted three times a month; these large assemblages (there were almost fifty members) renewed the support of the movement.

#### *Inu-gami and its relation to Odai-san*

One of the common functions of the Odaishi priest is to restore the sick and handicapped to health, and he gains many followers through the amazing healing powers which he is supposed to possess. He is sought especially by the illiterate and superstitious before they call on the ordinary doctor, or after they fail to respond satisfactorily to the doctor's treatment. One form of illness which the Odaishi priest is supposedly competent to treat is *inu-gami*, or the possession of the dog-spirit, a somewhat common malady among the immigrant Japanese. The victim is thought to be bewitched and the prayers of the priest are needed to drive out the possessing spirit.

*Inu-gami* is a form of witchcraft. Although the dog's supernatural power may be used for a good cause, namely to protect mankind against evil influences, the *inu-gami* is feared by the people as a formidable enemy, which brings illness, misfortune, and even death.<sup>5</sup> If a man has *inu-gami*, and if he hates somebody, the "dogs" will possess the hated individual, bringing illness or some other forms of misfortune. When the person who employs *inu-gami* desires something such as food or clothing, enjoyed by another man, he will cause the "dogs" suddenly to possess the man. For this reason the employers of *inu-gami* have no intercourse with other people, and they are shunned in marriage. In Hawaii, however, the discriminations against them are not clearly made except in the matter of marriage.

In Hawaii, the very first inquiry made by a matchmaker in the matter of marriage is whether the family is *inugami-mochi* (dog-spirit-owners); whether the family is of *Eta* origin; and whether there have been cases of leprosy in the family. Riches or

<sup>5</sup> One of the origin legends of "Inu-gami" runs as follows:

A hunter in Hareina province was saved by his two dogs. His wife was having secret intercourse with a servant during his absence and the lover would have succeeded in killing him, but for his dogs. He sent his wife away and henceforth considered his dogs as his children and that all his property was theirs. After their death he felt himself obliged to keep his word and spent all he had in building a Buddhist temple which he called "dog temples". He dedicated the shrine to the thousand armed Kwannon and devoted himself to prayers and meditation on future life. For the two dogs he specially built a Shinto Shrine and made them the principal guardian gods of the region. The image (of Kwannon) was extraordinarily miraculous and saved the temple thrice from fire when surrounded by it on all sides. Then Emperor Kwammu (781-806) who heard this ordered the temple to be raised to the rank of a state shrine and gave it a larger area of rice field." M. W. DeVissser, "The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Superstition" Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, XXXVII (1910), pp 1-84.

poverty, wisdom or foolishness, are of subsidiary importance. The practice of *inu-gami*, we learned, was confined to peoples of certain provinces in Japan. People from Yamaguchi and Hiroshima prefectures chiefly were familiar with *inu-gami*; while others have never heard of it.

It is related of a large number of persons in Japan who were possessed by *inu-gami* that they went to a Buddhist temple *Jizoji*, in order to pray to Jizo, famous for the many miraculous cures he had wrought. When the priest read the Sutra on their behalf, the person possessed of *inu-gami* danced incessantly, or spoke gibberish or jumped while dancing and fell to the ground temporarily cured. In Hawaii, those possessed seek *Odai-San* for "god-removal." They often go into an ecstatic trance and bark like puppies. The following is an account related by Mrs. S. who saw the process of "god-removal" at Mrs. I.'s *Odai-san*.

Nothing was unusual about the gathering. We began to read the Sutra as we always do, when suddenly a lady fell down from her upright sitting position. We lifted her up and held the lifeless body from falling again. When she began to moan and bark we left her in a lying position. Together with Mrs. I. we repeated the Sutra until it had been read a thousand times. Then Mrs. I. placed a bunch of burning incense under the nose of the possessed lady and scolded, "Now will you confess? Who are you?"

"I'll confess. I'm Mrs. T.," she wailed.

"Why did you possess her?"

"Because she no longer came to my *Odai-san*, I sent the dogs after her." When the possessed lady answered, the voice was not her normal one; and although it was she who talked, it was the dog that was answering Mrs. I.'s question.

"Are you ready to leave her. Do you wish me to punish you?"

"I'll leave her, I'll leave her."

The possessed lady walked on all fours down the stairs, barking all the way, until she reached the bottom of the stairs. She uttered a plaintive cry and fell down. We ran downstairs, carried her into the house. We were told not to look back as we carried her in because the "dogs" will return. After a few moments she returned to her normal state. All she said was, "I'm tired." There was nothing really wrong with her.

We are interested in the process of "god-removal" more than the practice of *inu-gami*. Only under the condition of a religious mood does an individual who is supposed to have been possessed undergo "god-removal." Though the individual in isolation may feel that he is being possessed, he does not go into a trance as he does at *Odai-san* where a group of people are present. This phenomenon, however, is not witnessed when there is a very large group of people. The feeling of self-consciousness probably prevents it.

To begin with, the patient is not in the best of health. She feels that she is not well. The doctor cannot help her if she thinks she is possessed. The feeling of being possessed is usually planted in her mind by somebody or herself to explain her con-

dition. It is a functional illness. She heard that *Odai-san* will remove the "dogs" from her because *Odai-san* has the miraculous power of curing diseases. When she goes to *Odai-san*, she goes with the expectation that *Odai-san* will help her. As the group reads the Sutra, the patient's inhibitions are lowered, and under the condition of rapport, suggestibility increases. Her attention is narrowed and becomes focused on the priest, and she becomes immune to other stimuli, attaining a state comparable to hypnotism. She will confess when the priest asks her to, and the suggestion, "will you leave her?" is responded to by the patient walking away on all fours. It is very unusual for people who are not regular members of *Odai-san* to witness an exorcism.

### AN ABORTIVE RELIGIOUS CULT

HENRY LUM and M. MIYAZAWA

The residents of Hawaii had the privilege of witnessing the birth and early stages of a new religious cult which developed in the fall of 1927 about the so-called "Sacred Stones of Wahiawa." The fact that the cult never reached the stage of an institutionalized religion makes it no less interesting to the student of collective behavior. It doubtless forms one small chapter in the story of the many expressive movements in which the religious excitement flares forth like a rocket and then dies out as quickly.

The story of this indigenous religious movement begins with a simple incident in the spring of 1925 when the Daughters of Hawaii chose to mark the supposed site of the stones of Kukaniloko, the birthplace of the ancient chiefs of highest rank. The site is located near the town of Wahiawa, Oahu.<sup>2</sup> The society, whose interest was to preserve for posterity some of the historic sites and monuments of ancient Hawaii, enclosed the ancient accouchment stone and another whose history is not so well authenticated within a wire fence and conducted appropriate dedication ceremonies. The taller stone is nearly six feet high, tongue-shaped, and over two feet wide. The smaller stone is shoe-shaped.

The Hawaiians naturally regarded these stones with some reverence, and the legends and stories connected with them are legion. According to one story, the stones were once sisters of royal blood who flew by magic to Oahu to the birthplace of the Kings. While on their way, a cock crowed, breaking the magic spell and causing them to fall. But in falling, they were chang-

ed to stone. According to another story the stones were "fish gods," thus attracting the fishermen to seek the blessings of their god. Still another legend holds that Lono, priestly and magical healer of ancient Hawaii, was turned into the larger of these stones upon his death and that his healing qualities still inhered in the stone. Most of the stories implied that to touch the tall stone and to make offerings to it would bring healing of sickness, strength, and good luck.

It was not, however, until after the public dedication of the stones that interest in the stones assumed epidemic proportions and that the other racial groups in Hawaii became generally aware of the supposed healing properties of the stones. Strange stories about the wonderful stones began to circulate. Some said that the Filipino laborers, watching from the nearby fields, saw the ceremonies, and thinking that the stones were some kind of shrines, offered prayers for health. As the story goes, one of them who had been ill for some time, miraculously recovered. Another version of the story is that one of the working men who helped move the stones was cured of a chronic sickness. At any rate stories about the wonderful properties spread around the neighborhood, and with the help of newspaper publicity, eventually they reached all parts of the island and even to the other islands.

People of all races began coming to the stones—Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Puerto-Ricans, Haoles, seeking relief from all kinds of ailments. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos were the most faithful devotees, some of them ascribing such power to the stones that it was thought dangerous to point their fingers at either stone, to take pictures of them, or to show disrespect in any way.

During the height of the movement, a colorful pageant of pilgrims brought offerings of flowers, leis, and jewelry to adorn the stones, fruit and money to place at the base of the stones, and incense to burn. The popularity of the stones increased to such an extent that it led the manager of the plantation to place a box for the money offerings, which amounted in a few weeks time to six hundred dollars for the benefit of the welfare work in the community.

Although the popularity of the healing shrine assumed the character of a social movement in which myths and legends of its marvelous qualities were spread rapidly and uncritically accepted, the actual worshipping of the shrine was entirely an individual matter.

Each pilgrim worshipped the stone in the manner which appealed to him most, and in all their seriousness, they seemed to be totally unconscious of the curious onlookers. Many of them after lighting the incense, stood before the stone and prayed silently or burned paper prayers. Some of them even climbed over the wired fence to kiss the stone or to rub it with some article like cloth or leaves and then to apply it to their afflicted parts. Others in making a lei offering would exchange it for an old one which was already on the stone and wear that for they believed that the old lei would cure them since it had been in

<sup>1</sup> The following account is based upon the observations of newspaper reporters, actual devotees of the strange cult, and interested on-lookers.

<sup>2</sup> According to ancient legend, the chiefesses of the first order came to lie there because only the babies born on one of the accouchment stones was recognized as a tabu chief. A baby who had the misfortune to be born on the way or near this spot was only recognized as an "outside" chief. This spot was a traditional mecca for the expectant mothers since about the twelfth century because many chiefs had been born there. They believed that a child born there would be strong and healthy and would be very prominent in the future. The fact that the mother had the physical strength and courage to go there at childbirth assured a strong maternal inheritance.

contact with the wonderful stone. One person would touch the stone and rub his afflicted eyes, for instance; then a mother would touch the stone and rub her hand over her little offspring. Another parent would take her handkerchief and touch every part of the stone and then apply it to the face of her child which had sores; others would rub their hands, or head, or body upon the stone and wait for the miracle to happen. Some of them really felt that they had been healed, while others would repeat their devotional exercises without results and would finally go elsewhere in despair.

It is interesting to hear the different stories about the miraculous healing powers of the stone. Some people, especially of the older generation, openly avow that the stone cured them; others say that it was all imagination. Some say that they saw a form of a mother and child on the stone; others deny it. One girl had a kodak picture of the famous stone in which one could see an indistinct white form of a mother holding a babe in her arms, slightly resembling a madonna and her child. A Korean woman, after praying earnestly for some time declared that she could see six angelic forms hovering about the stones. Others present denied seeing anything of the sort. It was said that the Hawaiians would gaze steadily at the stone until some sort of a misty vision of a mother and a child appeared. This was the signal to jump over the fence and place a lei offering on the stone following which he might go home satisfied that his desires would soon be granted.

A Chinese man who had suffered for years from an itch which ordinary medical treatment had failed to cure came to the stones for assistance. He picked leaves from a tree which grew nearby, rubbed them over the stones, and later bathed his afflicted parts with a tea prepared from these leaves. Strangely enough, he secured temporary relief in this way, but after a few days the itch returned, and it was necessary to repeat the process at frequent intervals.

News of the healing stones traveled to the most remote sections of the Islands where people discussed the supposed merits of the new cult. At least one case is known of a blind man on the island of Kauai who sailed to Oahu to make offerings to the stones, hoping thereby to regain his sight. He bathed his eyes with the water which certain self appointed priests had for sale near the stones, but the miracle did not occur. Another unrequited pilgrim was a boy crippled in an automobile accident whose mother brought him from another island to pray over the stones. It was, of course, the successful case which attracted public attention and kept the movement going.

Among the myths which developed during the height of the mania were some of the dreadful potency of the stones. The larger stone was more commonly worshipped because it was thought to bring good luck, while the smaller one was thought to be somewhat sinister in its influence, causing sickness and death. Neither one could be approached with irreverence. According to one story, a Filipino died instantly because he had sacrilegiously

pushed aside the stones in his path where they had been left while being moved to their present location. According to still another story current among the devotees, the theft of the collection box attached to the stones caused the immediate death of the thief by supernatural powers, although the disappearance of both the body and the money was never explained.

Every "mecca calls forth its body of essential functionaries and supernumeraries." A self-appointed Chinese priest received fees for his "services" and from the sale of eucalyptus leaves from neighboring trees which were supposed to have certain curative values when used in the bath.

Another lay priest was a Korean. Living in the locality, he went almost daily to the outdoor temple, and there offered his prayers. He would draw water from a nearby source, place it before the shrine and pray over it. After his prayers, he would drink the "holy water," claiming it gave him strength and health. The superstitious throngs gathered there, reacted quickly to the suggestion and immediately took up the practice. Yang, ever versatile, foresaw an advantage by drawing water, and he collected a fee from anyone for whom he had performed that service.

Hot dog booths, lei stands, candle and josh-stick peddlers, refreshment dealers and concessions of almost all sorts appeared almost overnight and gave the spot the appearance of a "boom-town." But unfortunately no formal control over this rising community appeared and the problems of sanitation and order soon became acute.

Crowds of worshippers went there every day in the week, with still greater numbers on Saturdays and Sundays. All were drawn by the common excitement but each was concerned primarily with his purely private interests, either relief from sickness or a desire for fortune. The methods used in attaining these ends included rubbing and kissing the stones, burning candles and incense, presenting gifts, offering money, offering various types of sacrifices, and praying. The refuse left as a result became a source of growing alarm to local residents. The kissing and rubbing of the stones also were considered as means of transmitting diseases. The people of Wahiawa finally appealed to the Board of Health. In their protest, they declared that conditions were unsanitary and a menace to health. They demanded the curbing of certain practices indulged in by the devotees. The Board in its turn found it impossible to restrain the practices that were in vogue. The president of the Board of Health publicly declared that conditions would be taken care of by the elements. He claimed that the sun and rain would act as sterilizing agents.

It was at about this point that the excitement suddenly waned as quickly and as mysteriously as it had appeared. The crowds of worshippers making daily pilgrimages to the "mecca" were no more.

Today, the spot which was so revered and worshipped only a little more than a decade back is desolate and lonely. Occasionally a visitor may stop out of curiosity and wonder at the ab-

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surdity of the whole thing. The wire fence still surrounds the stones, but the collection box which at one time held as much as three hundred dollars and the floral gifts are absent. Evidences of the sudden collapse of the craze appear in the concrete box with its hollow center still partly filled with sand in which candles and josh sticks were placed. A deep-rutted, seldom-used dirt road leads off the highway to the stones, the only remaining reminder of the former tremendous traffic.

THE FILIPINO FEDERATION OF AMERICA,  
INCORPORATED:

A STUDY IN THE NATURAL HISTORY OF A  
SOCIAL INSTITUTION

DAVID THOMPSON

Superficially, the Filipino Federation of America is often dismissed as a cultist movement based upon faith in Hilario Camino Moncado, conceived as God, or a prophet of God. It is a truism, however, that a successful leader must formulate previously existent desires and dissatisfactions in a manner which reflects the values of his followers. Therefore, both Moncado and the F. F. A. may best be understood if viewed from a natural historical standpoint as an immigrant institution.

*The Sociological Background*

Conceived in this way, one can understand why the Federation, which currently enjoys its greatest strength in Hawaii, started in California and was only introduced to Hawaii in 1927. For while the Hawaiian importation of Filipino labor preceded the period of extensive immigration to the mainland by a decade, this importation was carefully controlled by the sugar factors who, insofar as they were able, selected men adapted to plantation work. The planters maintained a paternalistic protection over the Filipino immigrants, once they had arrived in the islands, and accepted them as laborers on the plantations in preference to previously imported groups which had become Americanized and, therefore, less tractable. Moreover, the return passage to the Philippines was guaranteed after three years of work, so that they tended to regard their sojourn in Hawaii as a money-making adventure.

On the mainland, however, the rapid increase of Filipino immigration after the World War, and the peculiar character and expectations of the immigrants, created a very unsatisfactory situation from the standpoint of the individual Filipino. An immigrant-labor frontier was created on the Pacific coast with the typical features of an abnormally high sex ratio, the breakdown of institutional and primary group controls, and economic competition between racial groups, with a resultant discrimination against the immigrant. Conditions were all the more acute for the Filipinos because the objective situation differed so markedly from everything that the immigrant had been led to hope for.

Before the war a few adventurous and generally superior Filipinos had come to America to attend school. They had created the occupational category of "school boy" (i.e., part-time worker), making a fairly successful economic adjustment, and enjoying the generally favorable social status, which they expected as cultivated young American nationals, sojourning in the great democratic mother country for educational purposes. During and after the war, many more Filipinos came to the States via the navy; and they, too, were not disappointed. The glowing letters which these young adventurers sent home, together with the gilded accounts of steamship and labor agents, increased the trickle of immigration to a steady and noticeable little stream. These immigrants expected education and adventure, crowned with a successful homecoming from the country whose progressive democratic values they had been schooled in and now had such a passionate faith in. But, by reason of their very numbers, many of them were doomed to disappointment. As a result of economic competition, bad feeling developed between Filipinos and native laborers.

On the West Coast, where racial conflict is an old story, the "brown-tide" called forth the previously established reactions toward recent immigrants. The Filipinos began to be classed as "Orientals," and were treated accordingly. Previous opportunities for social contacts were closed to them, and the abnormal sex ratio within their own ethnic group became painfully apparent. Opportunities for lucrative or desirable employment decreased. It became harder to finish school, or even to start to school; and once out of school, occupational openings in the Philippines consonant with their own self-esteem had become rare, while on the mainland they were nonexistent. Many of the new immigrants were not prepared for American schooling, but desired it because of the prestige value of education in the homeland. When they could not realize their desires, they hesitated to go home to the jibes of the native *barrio*. For many, return was a financial impossibility.

Feeling himself a failure, lonely and discouraged, the individual Filipino boy began to relax his previous self-discipline, quit sending money home, or saving for his return, and sought the immediate relief of high-life and dissipation. Life became aimless, the individual became unstable, the prevailing mood became one of bitterness. The stage was set for a social movement which would provide some relief and adjustment. Politically isolated and unimportant, it was only natural that the less educated immigrants should seek escape in religion. At the same time, most of them had experienced only a rudimentary popular ritualism in the Catholic religion at home and had lost all contact with the church in America. It was to such a group that the "Master" came with his promise of otherworldly rewards and of the glorious future of the "chosen" Filipino race, and with his offerings of the immediate spiritual satisfactions of ascetic mysticism and sectarian fellowship.

### The Master

Any accurate description of how Moncado came into the scene, or of his subsequent activities, must attempt to see him from several standpoints; for it is one of his characteristics that he makes different appeals and presents a different character to different groups, both within the Filipino community and within the community at large.

A purely factual history of Moncado is difficult to obtain. Mr. Quevedo of the Los Angeles *Ang Bantay* reported in 1929 after a careful investigation that:

Hilario Moncado y Caminos (which name he changed to Hilario Camino Moncado when he arrived in the United States) was born in the Barrio Pondo, Balamban, Cebu, P. I. His parents' names are Gregorio Moncado and Filomena Caminos.

Between the years 1910 and 1914 he studied from Grade I to Grade IV in his town. He applied as a laborer for the Hawaiian Sugar Plantations in Cebu and left for Hawaii in February 7, 1914, at the age of 21, contract No. 10221 . . . . .

In 1915 he left Hawaii for the mainland of the United States and completed his primary and intermediate grades in San Francisco and from that city he came to Los Angeles.

Little can be learned of Moncado's experience between 1915 and 1924 when he launched the Filipino Federation of America. In 1924 Moncado established *Equifrilibricum News Service*, a semi-monthly Filipino newspaper which became the official organ of the F. F. A. when that body was founded on December 27, 1925. On April 2, 1927, the Federation was incorporated under the laws of the state of California.

Moncado is extraordinarily tall for a Filipino, an even six feet, and he was quite handsome in his youth. He is fastidious in dress, worldly, charming, and a master of oratory and suasion. Unsurpassed in propaganda technique and dramatic sense, he has a manner of great sincerity in face-to-face relations.

In much of the early literature, Moncado was represented as "master," with his photograph within a star captioned "the light of the world," or as "omega" in a pictured trilogy of Christ, Jose Rizal, and Moncado. According to the biography as written by his press-agent, William J. Schaeffle, Moncado had been sent to Calcutta in 1904 at the age of six to "the famous Indian College of Mystery" where he studied the universal mystery of nature and graduated with honor at the age of nine and obtained the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy of Kabala (K. Ph. D.), Doctor of Philosophy of Numerology (N. Ph. D.), and Doctor of Philosophy of Human Nature (N. H. Ph. D.) . . . After graduating, he wrote a book in the Kabalistic language, entitled "Equifrilibricum" meaning equality, fraternity, and Liberty . . . 2

During this period he is reported to have traveled through India, China, Japan, Korea, Africa, New Zealand, Borneo, Sumatra,

1 Nicolas C. Dizon, *The "Master" vs. Juan de la Cruz*, (Honolulu, 19), pp. 14-15.

2 Hilario Camino Moncado, *Divinity of Woman, Her Superiority over Man* (Los Angeles, 1927), pp. 8-9.

Java, Celebes, Australia, and the entire Philippine archipelago, accompanied by one of his "Mystic and Psychic Masters." Later he was "engaged to teach his own book 'equifrilibricum' at the Indian College of Mystery", and at the age of eleven, he was "Given his mystic and psychic name 'Equi Frili Brium,' meaning, 'I am the way of equality, I am the truth of fraternity, I am the life of liberty and the master of Equifrilibricum.' At the age of twelve, he was elected Supreme Grand Master of the Grand Order of the Mystic and Psychic Masters of India, which organization at that time had a membership of over fifteen million and which in 1927 had been increased to two hundred million Mystic and Psychic people."<sup>3</sup> After much travel and uninterrupted lecturing since 1907, Moncado, according to his biographer, finally came to California in 1915, and ten years later organized the Filipino Federation of America in Los Angeles.

To the external observer, the Filipino Federation of America in all its varied manifestations becomes intelligible chiefly in the role of its founder as a clever, worldly-wise leader of the relatively unlettered and bewildered members of an oppressed immigrant group to whom the Federation is a way of salvation and Moncado is the messiah.

Among his Federation members Moncado appeared as the third representative of God, in direct succession to Christ and Jose Rizal. He had a divine mission to perform and invited others to join him in its fulfillment by way of the Federation whose creed and objectives were stated as follows:

1. To promote friendly relations between Filipinos and Americans.
2. To develop the true Christian fellowship.
3. To show the real humanitarian spirit by offering their moral, spiritual, and material aid and protection to their fellow members of the Federation.
4. To advance the moral and social conduct of each member.
5. To foster the educational advancement of each member.
6. To respect the superiors and office holders of the federation.
7. To serve in any capacity for the further advancement of the F.F.A.
8. To be loyal to the Constitution of the Federation.
9. To obtain peacefully the immediate and complete independence of the Philippine Islands.
10. To work for a fair and truthful understanding of the relations between the United States and the Philippines.
11. To be an active agency of the solution of the Philippine problems.
12. To uphold the Constitution of the United States.<sup>4</sup>

The public charge of Moncado to his early followers reveals a similar moral idealism, incorporating Philippine nationalism with loyalty to the United States, devotion to God, and finally,

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10. While in India, he is reported to have analyzed the Bible in "numerical order" and wrote several books including "Watch 1927-1935," describing the terrible conflict to occur between the nations at this time, "Sun, Moon, and the Star," "Mikado of Japan," "Re-Vizaya of the Philippines," and "Divinity of Woman."

<sup>4</sup> The Honolulu Times, June 8, 1929. (Also printed on F. F. A. membership cards.)



support of the Federation.

You, members of this "GREAT BODY," your first obligation as a member of this Filipino Federation of America, Inc., is to do all in your POWER to help obtain the FREEDOM OF YOUR COUNTRY, THE PHILIPPINES. I advise you to go forth and increase the membership of this ORGANIZATION; in other words, MULTIPLY. Your country's FREEDOM is within yourself "GO AND GET IT." But in the meantime, be loyal to God, to the United States and its Constitution. Serve in this capacity to the best of your ability and your reward will come.<sup>5</sup>

The response of the members to the "Master's" message is similarly phrased in mystical and idealistic terms.

We, the members of the Filipino Federation of America, Inc., friends of humanity and fighters for women's freedom in righteousness to guide us in our present suffering, believe that through the liberation of the Filipino people as a distinguished lover and an outstanding friend of the MALAYAN RACE, THE AMERICAN NATION WILL BE CROWNED WITH HONOR BY THE ALMIGHTY.

Therefore, by following the DIVINE TEACHING of "EQUI FRILI BRIUM" of which we are awaiting his DIVINE PROCLAMATION on earth and for Him to set us men free from the bonds of evil, He will bring forth "Love" and "POWER" to HUMANITY.<sup>6</sup>

Followers were admitted to sub-matriculate membership upon the payment of a hundred dollars to the treasurer, and five dollars per annum in dues. Upon the payment of dues of thirty dollars per annum, they might enter the ranks of Matriculate membership, which were limited to 1,728 members "divided into twelve divisions and each division shall consist of one hundred and forty-four matriculate members and each division shall be divided into Twelve Lodges and each Lodge shall consist of twelve matriculate members."<sup>7</sup> The expenditure of the funds of the organization was authorized only by the president<sup>8</sup> and was popularly supposed to be for a variety of philanthropic purposes, including the purchase of an Ark in which the Federationists were to escape a predicted deluge. More immediately, a large colony in Mindanao was to be purchased in which each member was promised a home and farm.<sup>9</sup> The membership was exhorted to "Know thyself" and to "be wise as serpents."

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> 1936 Amended By-Laws of Filipino Federation of America, Inc., p. 3. This is typical of a transfer device used extensively by Moncado. A widely circulated Federation poster shows three pictures, one of Christ surrounded by his twelve disciples, another of Rizal surrounded by his twelve disciples, and one of Moncado with 144 disciples.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Here as elsewhere there is evidenced a striking similarity with the Colerum Society of the Philippines, a mystic and fanatical sect of Catholic heretics. "Migration to Surigao-Bucas, Gand Island, they built a castle for their leader, Lantayog, who represented himself as . . . 'Rizal returned to life for the purpose of obtaining the independency of the Philippines and eventually the throne . . . These leaders by their harangues convinced the impressionable, ignorant, tao . . . that doomsday would come in 1924, and that the earth had already careened so far that all Colerums must contribute to a fund for the purchase of hemp to be sent to Cebu and made into a large rope to tie the earth and keep it as long as possible, from sliding into the ocean.'"—Robert Woods, "The Strange Story of the Colerum Sect," Asia Magazine, July 15, 1932.

Like the Colerums, the Federationists also believe in the immunity of their leader from physical harm and in the sacredness of women.

As in many mystic movements the avenue to transcendental knowledge lay through the practice of ascetic discipline. The "spiritual" or "Euthropic" division of the membership was supposed to eat no meat, salt, or cooked food, to wear hair and beard uncut, and, together with the "material" division, to abstain from "dancing, drinking with alcoholic drink, gambling, smoking, pool halls, strikes, violence, resistance, and all things that are destructive to humanity."<sup>10</sup> This discipline was entirely optional, however, and material members were released from most of its observances as long as they maintained their financial contributions. Moreover, upon attaining "self knowledge," ordinary rules no longer applied.

#### *Bases of Solidarity*

*Esprit de corps* was fostered by the development of an in-group out-group relationship, in which the Federationists came to feel that they constituted the elect, who alone would escape damnation at the final judgment of God. Their long hair and strange practices served to differentiate them from others, and to invite the taunts and abuse which they had been taught to expect as the inevitable, glorious crown of thorns which is forced upon all saviours of mankind. These ways of gaining real or imagined status in the outside community were supplemented by many opportunities for informal fellowship within the Federation. Religious services, prayer meetings, and sometimes banquets for the "Master," gave the immigrant a sense of status, social acceptance, and sustenance in place of his former loneliness and personal alienation. Ceremonial practices at religious services, banquets, conventions, and Rizal Day parades, gave participants a sense of communal support and importance. Likewise, rituals, secret language, any symbols re-enforced the feelings of mutual sympathy and identity in the movement.

Morale was developed through conviction in the rectitude of purpose of the movement, faith in the ultimate attainment of its goal, and belief that the movement was charged with a sacred mission. These convictions found support in the saint-cult of Moncado, whose figure, esoteric degrees, mystical revelations and newspaper publicity were all impressive to the naive *tao* who venerated education, was predisposed to religious superstition, and was uncritical. Moncado was conceived to be omniscient, omnipotent. To blaspheme against him in private was foolhardy, for he knew all; and he was known to appear to his followers even in the steam of a kettle.<sup>11</sup> If necessary, he could walk across the ocean to the Philippines. Associated with him in the minds of his followers were virtues of great men with whom he was associated in his public statements and sometimes in photographs.

There were also minor saints and martyrs of the movement, such as Lorenzo De Los Reyes, He was the John the Baptist of the movement who prophesied the coming of the "Master." De Los Reyes founded three children's homes on Oahu and became spiritual advisor to the orphans resident in them. The movement

<sup>10</sup> 1936 Amended By-Laws.

<sup>11</sup> Based upon life history documents of members of the F. F. A.



today has a number of more worldly officers performing specialized functions. Manuel Ping-pong, Treasurer and superintendent of the F.F.A., serves as a go-between for the spiritual and material members, as indicated by the name given to him by Moncado, which is symbolic of the shuttle-like action of the ping pong ball.

An ideology has developed on several planes. Besides the numerological analysis of the Bible, and the other sacred literature, the membership itself has created various myths about Moncado's miraculous powers, as well as rationalizations of their own behavior. Thus they explain their use of raw food by the fact that cooking fires will be dangerous signals to the enemy in the Armageddon which Moncado has predicted, and they say that they practiced fasting against the day when the Malthusian principles shall have created a universal food shortage, which will be fatal to people with normal appetites. On a more rational plane Moncado's press statements serve as a creed to enlist support from the outside world.

New members are enlisted in the Federation through the appeal of a religious cause or through the more general appeals of the advantages and attractions of the institution. The Federation claims that it will educate its members and provide them with lessons in numerology and secret languages, with the attendant satisfactions of occult and extra-mundane knowledge. Federationists also claim special worldly benefits through the approval accorded their high moral behavior by outside dignitaries and through the benediction of employer groups for their anti-unionism.

#### *Moncado as a Symbol*

Moncado himself symbolized to many of the Filipino immigrants the worldly success and prestige which they have been denied but ardently desire. At the time of his accession to prominence, the Filipino communities of the Coast and Hawaii were agitated by the congressional debates on the questions of Philippine independence and Filipino exclusion, and by the race riots in California. For those who are immune to the appeals of religion, nationalism provides an equally satisfactory escape from immediate unpleasantness. The Filipino immigrants were intensely patriotic. Indeed, patriotism was almost the only common bond between these people from the most varied local cultures. As children they had absorbed American conceptions of the rights of national independence, as well as their contemporary rights as American nationals. Discrimination against Filipino immigrants, and the efforts to exclude them from America, as well as the postponement of Philippine independence were regarded as outrageous; and Moncado said so in an impressive manner. Moreover, he said it to important people, and it looked as if he were the man who could rectify these wrongs.

Whatever the practical effect of Moncado's activity on Philippine independence, it did give him and the F. F. A. a great deal of publicity. When his picture was published showing him shaking hands with a great public official, the Filipino interpreted it in the light of his experience at home where great men only

spoke with their equals. If a story appeared in the daily papers giving a promise by a Congressman of independence for the Philippines, perhaps denied the next day by the Congressman himself, it was the original statement which would be clipped and circulated among the credulous by the Federation members. When Moncado was described by a London humorist as "the man with a revolution in his pocket" the humor escaped the uneducated strata of Filipino society toward whom the propaganda was directed.

Insofar as Moncado came to appear as an effective champion of Philippine nationalism, the success of the Federation was assured; for the Filipino's patriotism had deep emotional roots.

The Philippines was his home and the home of his loved ones. Moreover, if the Filipino could raise the status of the national group with which he was identified, his own status would be raised thereby, while the very effort expended in the noble cause by the individual patriot would tend to raise his immediate status within his own group at home and abroad.

Moncado did give the impression that he was influential in Washington. He was able to travel extensively, eventually establishing an annual itinerary with stop-overs at Washington, California, Hawaii, and the Philippines. He broke into the news frequently with demands for independence, grave pronouncements upon world affairs, or accounts of interviews with congressmen and notables. In 1929 he claimed to have fathered a congressional bill for pensioning the family of Firmin Robera who was murdered in a California race riot. In 1936 when settlement of undeveloped areas was vexing the Quezon administration, he claimed that his colony in Dansalan Mindanao contained 20,000 Moros, and 40,000 Christians, and that his peaceful subjugation of the Moros was a puzzle to Quezon himself. In 1940 he proposed in speeches and local papers that Honolulu be the site of the world peace conference to end the war, under the leadership of the Filipinos. Not only did he make news, but he was in himself everything that a poor immigrant might wish to be. He appeared to have a huge bank account, and the most expensive clothes. He travelled by Clipper. He maintained large offices with many secretaries in Los Angeles. He wine and dined with the great and married an international glamour girl. Upon such a symbol of success and fulfillment, an underprivileged man could project all of his own frustrations. Whatever glory was Moncado's was vicariously the glory of all of his followers.

Furthermore, such an important man gave real or imagined prestige to the whole Filipino immigrant nation. They were glad to support him, for they were proud of him. They elected him senior delegate from Hawaii, the mainland, and Lanao to the Philippines Constitutional Convention. Later he ran for a seat in the Assembly from Lanao. When he was defeated, he claimed election fraud and a repressive conspiracy on the part of the Quezon administration. Finally he announced his candidacy for the presidency of the Philippines in 1941, on the platform of his Modernist party, admitting the inevitability of

defeat, but hopeful of supplying a healthful opposition for the good of the country.

"Most nationalistic movements have a strong revivalist character in which the past of a people is glorified. Such movements are explainable, apparently, as a response to a situation of frustration. In this situation people are experiencing a loss of self respect."<sup>12</sup> They turn to the past for a new respectful conception of themselves. So Moncado has emphasized the past glories of the Malaysian people, has taught that the Malay race are the "chosen people," and predicted that the Filipinos will be the vanguard leading the Malays back to their former glories. He calls upon his Federationists to liberate womanhood; he preaches the law of love and non-resistance, thus appealing to the primary-group virtues of the warmhearted and kindly *tao*. And if virtue is its own reward, this at least can be enjoyed by the members of the oppressed race.

#### *The Federation as a Control Movement in California and Hawaii*

This appeal to morality was undoubtedly one of the greatest factors in producing favorable reactions to the Federation in California. In the late twenties, the Filipino communities on the mainland were suffering a great decline in morale. Dissipation blighted many Filipinos morally, socially, and financially. The controls exercised by the Federation were needed and appreciated by the Filipino community. They also were gratefully received by the White community. A wave of race riots had been sweeping the state and many Americans were genuinely ashamed and distressed by the situation. They wished to understand and help the Filipinos; and when the Federation appeared as an agency of social control, dedicated to the promotion of friendly relations between Americans and Filipinos, they were only too glad to speak at its banquets and to laud it in the press. If some of its aspects seemed bizarre, they were willing to dismiss them as manifestations of the incomprehensible East. So the Federation was able to get much favorable comment from the White community, and this was used to the full in building the prestige of the Federation within the Filipino community.

In Hawaii the history of Federation relationships with the White ruling class was somewhat different. Here there was no acute social problem. Most Filipinos were on plantations which practiced their own means of social control. The Federation first appeared to the plantation managers as a fanatical sect whose spiritual members terrified plantation workers with stories of impending doom and damnation, and whose converts were rendered unfit for field work by self imposed starvation. Filipino nationalism had last appeared in the form of a union with some very unpleasant consequences, and any new national group was suspect. As late as 1931 the officers of the Federation were denied access to Plantation camps; and *The Honolulu Advertiser* and *The Honolulu Star Bulletin* refused to give favorable publicity

to the Federation or to take its advertisements.

Around 1931 it became apparent that the Federation in Hawaii was facing a crisis. The depression discouraged prospective members from paying the one hundred dollars, non-refundable initiation fee. Plantation workers had been commanded to leave the Federation or leave the plantation. The public generally was hostile. Membership had declined from the previous peak of between 2500 and 3000 to a mere 1500 in 1931. Some accommodation pattern was necessary. A beginning was made after several "spiritual" members, led by Thomas Maligni Reforma, were arrested for questioning in Honolulu. As one means of accommodation, the Federation began to advise more conventional tonsorial observances, and today a bewhiskered old-timer is rarely seen in Honolulu.

Between 1931 and 1935 the Federation evolved a policy which was more acceptable in the wider community, especially to the dominant economic interests. When a new wave of militant unionism swept the islands, and when depression emigration threatened a serious loss of Filipino labor, Moncado came forth with a vigorous anti-union campaign<sup>13</sup> and a warning that nothing awaited the returning Filipino in Manila. At about this time the press and the plantation camps were opened to the Federation, and in advertisements and speeches, Moncado referred to Hawaii as "a paradise" and urged the Filipinos to stay here and to avoid unionism. Moncado taught his followers to view the benefits which they enjoyed as benevolent rewards for loyalty and hard work. When collective bargaining was in the *Zeitgeist*, he instructed his men to "arbitrate," by which he meant that they should individually take any of their troubles directly to their employers for adjustment. "(He) advised his followers to be satisfied with their employment on the plantations in Hawaii and to work hard for personal advancement . . . Mr. Moncado told his followers not to listen to the advice of mainland labor leaders but to follow his example and to work for the good of the community and the Philippines Commonwealth."<sup>14</sup> In 1936 he agitated for the creation by the Philippines government of a post of labor commissioner and in this connection he wrote a report on *Filipino Labor Conditions in the Territory of Hawaii* to Manuel Quezon, consisting largely of miscellaneous statistics. In 1936 the *Advertiser* referred to him as a "flying laborite."

Federationists, under the vigorous discipline of the "spiritual" rules of the sect, were acquiring a reputation for "industry, peacefulness, thrift, respect for law and authority, cleanliness, moral lives, and humility"<sup>15</sup> which made them desired as laborers on the plantations and farms of the territory. Within the ranks of organized labor, the Federationists were charged with strike breaking. "Last October (1937) employees of Libby,

<sup>13</sup> The advantages of labor organization have, up until recently, been quite effectively concealed by the local employer policy of refusing to recognize any union, while at the same time granting many of labor's demands shortly after the termination of a strike, in order to avoid future conflict.

<sup>14</sup> *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 11, 1937.

<sup>15</sup> *Philippine Chronicle*, November 20, 1937.

<sup>12</sup> Robert E. Park, ed., *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, pp. 277-78.

McNeill and Libby's pineapple plantation on the island of Molo-kai, struck for higher pay. Followers of Moncado and Francisco Varona . . . were transported on barges by the hundreds from the islands of Lanai, Maui, and Oahu to break the strike . . . .<sup>16</sup>

Today when Moncado comes to Hawaii, he is greeted by letters of welcome from the mayor, senators, representatives, and aspirants to political office, and is displayed in full page advertisements in the larger newspapers. Local officials are guests at his banquets, or participate in the ceremonial tree-planting of his "goodwill" programs. Banquets are given to him on the outside island plantations, and his press notices make the front page of the newspapers. On August 23, 1939, his automobile was escorted from the Matson dock by two motorcycle officers.<sup>17</sup>

But in spite of this ostensible gain in prestige, the membership of the Federation is declining. Local officers estimate the present membership at 700 for the Territory.<sup>18</sup> Both the objective situation and the psychology of the Filipino group has changed in the past fifteen years. For most, the immigrant crisis has passed, and the immigrants themselves, as they have become assimilated and better informed, have sought more realistic modes of adjustment. This is even truer of the younger generation; so that those who have automatically become "followers" by reason of their parents' membership, largely disregard the spiritual practices. They have begun to realize that money is a central value in American society, and they fear the disabilities of non-conformity in a "credit-controlled culture."

The Federation still maintains Bible study groups such as the one which meets twice a week in a little Moncado shrine in Kalihi-Kai, Honolulu, and three orphanages for Filipino children on Oahu, which are administered by F. F. A. matrons and reputedly give very good care. Many of the hundred-odd attendants of the Bible study group are of the faithful older generation and their children, to whom the Federation is chiefly a center of their religious interests, but not the exclusive institutional focus of their lives. Some of the "Material" members even prefer to attend the Catholic church instead of the Federation Bible classes. Other more spiritual members, both old and young, who have experienced frustration and maladjustment in the outside world, have made the Federation the central element in their life organization, finding compensation in mysticism, esoteric knowledge, asceticism and the institutional status which is generally accorded to the most loyal members of any group. Among many of these people there is the same restless, vague expectancy, the same waiting for the great pronouncement of the "Master" which characterizes the early stages of the social movement. They maintain the sectarian purity of the Federation. Generally speak-

<sup>16</sup> The Voice of Labor (Honolulu), February 3, 1938

<sup>17</sup> Honolulu Star-Bulletin, August 23, 1939

<sup>18</sup> 300 are on Oahu and about 400 on the other islands. These figures are not exact, for members have gone to the mainland or to the Philippines or have quit the organization without giving official notice; and the officers have had great difficulty in keeping strict account of the membership.

ing, however, the Filipino Federation of America has outlived the conditions which led to its creation and success, and, in accommodating itself to the community at large, has experienced the stages of institutionalization, secularization, and decline.

## THE POPULATION MOVEMENT IN HAWAII

ROMANZO ADAMS

### *The Recent Past and the Near Future*

The movement of population and, one might add, social movements, also, may be likened to the movement of physical masses in that changes in the direction and speed of movement are affected by size. A speedboat can get under way more quickly than an ocean liner, and it can change its course or stop more quickly too. In the case of a small area and population such as those of Hawaii, changes in trends may occur with almost startling rapidity,—startling to one accustomed to the consideration of the more stable trends that characterize the populations of great nations.

For this reason a method of forecasting population trends that is fairly dependable for Continental United States may be seriously erroneous for the Territory of Hawaii. For example, the population of Continental United States in the decade 1890-1900 made a 20.7 percent increase and in the next decade nearly the same rate prevailed, i.e., 21.0 percent. But in Hawaii a rate of 71.1 percent in 1890-1900 was followed by one of 24.6 percent.

Something like this might be true of the population of any small area in the United States, but more commonly we are not interested so much in such small areas. Commonly the trends in the small areas are lost in an average for the larger area. But Hawaii, separated from the nearest large land mass by thousands of miles, has an identity that one can not forget. Hawaiian movements are conditioned by factors that are in considerable measure peculiar to Hawaii, and these movements command the interest not only of the people of Hawaii but of many people who live on the Mainland.

During the first three quarters of the nineteenth century the population of Hawaii underwent a notable diminution, so that in 1875 it is probable that there were not one-third as many people as in 1800. But from 1875 to the present time there has been a continuous and important increase. At the present time the population exceeds even the high estimate made in the eighteenth century. But this increase has come irregularly as may be seen from the following table.

Rate Percent Increase of the Population  
of Hawaii for Each of Five Decades

1890-1900	71.1
1900-1910	24.6
1910-1920	33.4
1920-1930	43.9
1930-1940	14.9

For about three quarters of a century the adjustment between the demand for labor in Hawaii and the supply has been made mainly through the immigration of men from certain foreign countries and through the return of some of them to their native lands. This movement in both directions was facilitated by organized agencies, and the adjustment was made with a close approach to accuracy. But this seems to be nearly at an end. We do not expect to see any considerable foreign immigration in the future. Doubtless there will be a return of some thousands of immigrant laborers to their native lands, but this return movement has been dwindling and the outlook is that it will not be very important in the future.

Within the United States there is a freedom of movement that is not found commonly in other countries. In considerable numbers people migrate from the areas of inferior opportunity. For this reason the population trends among the States are variable and they do not necessarily correspond to the rates of natural increase. For example, the rate of natural increase is higher in Oklahoma than in California, but in the decade, 1930-1940, the population of California made a 21 percent increase while that of Oklahoma was decreased 2.6 percent.

For a long time there has been a movement of people between Hawaii and Continental United States, but this movement has been much larger since 1920 than it was before. The reference here is not to tourists but to people who, after crossing the ocean, establish homes and engage in business or do some kind of work. More than ever before Mainland-born people live in Hawaii. More than ever before Hawaiian-born people are living on the Mainland.

We may suppose that in the future the adjustment between labor demand and labor supply will be made largely by means of this movement between Hawaii and the Mainland. Probably this movement will never reach the volume of the movement among the present States. The distance and consequently the greater cost of travel will always work to moderate the movement but it will be large enough to bring about a near equilibrium between labor supply and labor demand and also an important change in the make-up of the population of Hawaii.

Perhaps one should call attention to one difference between the coming of men when there is a rising demand and the going of men when there is a falling demand. There is a *time* difference. In the period of a rising demand men come in the numbers needed with only a small delay. But in the time of falling demand they are slower to go away. Important changes in demand often increase the number of unemployed and such unemployment may continue for several years. This depends largely on the demand elsewhere. For example, if the present very active demand for labor in and near Honolulu shall, in a few years, give place to a very much smaller demand, and, if at that time the Pacific Coast demand is active, we shall see men leaving Honolulu for the Coast in unusually large numbers, and such movement would help to solve the problem of unemployment in Hawaii.

### The Decade 1930-1940

The following table presents some of the important data relating to the population changes between the two censuses. It may be seen that all of the increase was in Honolulu County, that in the other counties there was a considerable decrease in the number of males, and the decrease was not of boys but of men of working age, 20-64 years. There was, however, a considerable increase in the number of women in these other counties so that their total population was reduced very little. Of males, 20-64 years of age, Honolulu County gained nearly 21,000. Both Honolulu County and the other counties made a high percent increase in the number of aged men, i.e., men 65 years and over, Honolulu County 70 percent and the others taken together 48 percent. While the figures now available do not show it, one may be sure that there has also been a rapid increase in the number of aged women. Eventually and at no distant date the increase in the number of aged may be expected to raise the Territorial death rates which are at present very low.

#### The Increase (or the Decrease) of Population by Sex and, for Males, by Age Groups for Honolulu County and for All Other Counties Combined

			Honolulu County	All Other Counties	The Ter- ritory
A.	Males				
1.	Under 20 years of age	( 1930 ( 1940	47,505 54,719	39,478 38,112	86,983 92,831
	Increase + or decrease —		+7,214	-1,366	+5,848
2.	20-64 years of age	( 1930 ( 1940	68,998 89,895	61,195 53,747	130,193 143,642
	Increase + or decrease —		+20,897	-7,448	+13,449
3.	65 years and over	( 1930 ( 1940	2,605 4,428	2,859 4,236	5,464 8,664
	Increase + or decrease —		+1,823	+1,377	+3,200
4.	All ages	1930 1940	119,108 149,042	103,532 96,093	222,640 245,135
	Increase + or decrease --		+29,934	-7,439	+22,495
B.	Females at all ages	1930 1940	83,815 109,216	61,881 68,979	145,696 178,195
	Increase + or decrease —		+25,401	+7,098	+32,499
C.	Both sexes	1930 1940	202,923 258,258	165,413 165,072	368,336 423,330
	Increase + or decrease —		+55,335	-341	+54,994

But the table does not show all of the interesting facts about the population changes of the decade. The natural increase of population, i.e., the excess of births over deaths was nearly 64,000 but there was a decrease of about 9,000 owing to the excess of outgoing over incoming passengers. The excess to the Orient was much larger than this but Hawaii gained several thousand people through the excess of incoming passengers from the American Mainland over the outgoing.

If one divides the decade into two five-year periods, one may say that the population increase was more than twice as great in the second as in the first half in spite of the fact that the natural increase was greater in the first half. During both five-year periods the passenger movement resulted in a loss to the Orient, but the loss in the second five was the smaller. During both five-year periods there was a gain from the Mainland, but it was larger in the second five. This increase in the more recent period is, of course, due mainly to the international situation that called for a strengthening of our defenses.

The table does not afford information as to the population changes in the agricultural areas of Honolulu County, but the facts are that their population trends resemble those of the other counties. The population increase has been wholly in Honolulu City and other non-agricultural sections.

That there should have been an increase of 5,848 in the number of males under 20 years of age in the Territory may surprise people who have known that the birth rates have decreased seriously in the last fifteen years. Of course, children born 1920-1930 were in 1940 still under 20 years of age. The number born in the decade, 1920-1930, is in all probability an all-time high, and, as most of these will attain their majority in the present decade, we may look forward to a decreasing number of youth, unless considerable numbers come from the Mainland. It is significant that, of 5,848 increase in the number of boys under 20 years, almost half are of the Caucasian race and these are mainly in the age-group, 15-19 years.

#### *The Present Decade*

Any forecast of the population trend in Hawaii for the decade, 1940-1950, must be made under conditions of unusual difficulty. Ordinarily, forecasts are made on the assumption that there will be reasonable stability in relation to international and political affairs so that the normal working of our economic and social institutions will determine the outcome. But who knows what ten years or even two years will bring forth?

If the next two years shall witness a lessening of international tension so that in Hawaii the developments shall take a normal course for the rest of the decade, the effect of certain factors may be foreseen.

The birth rate has fallen considerably since 1924, and we may suppose that there will be a further fall in the rate, but smaller, by 1950. At some time in the near future we should expect to witness a moderately rising death rate. This, because

a larger part of our population is becoming aged. For these reasons the natural increase of population is expected to be smaller than it was in the recent past decade. I would not be surprised if it should be as low as 50,000 as compared with about 64,000 in the last decade.

The effect of migration is less easily seen. How many people will go to the Orient and of what ages will they be? In recent years there has been a marked decrease in the number of such, and the outlook is for a still further decrease, so that the loss of population to the Orient is expected to be much smaller than it was in the past decade.

Possibly the balance of the movement between Hawaii and the American Mainland will be reversed. Many people have come from the Mainland on account of the defense program, and if, after a few years, the international outlook is reassuring many of them are likely to return. Not only these but also many Hawaiian born who have been attracted to Honolulu from the country districts may, if they can not find ordinarily good opportunities in Honolulu, go to the Mainland,—that is, they will go if there shall be better opportunities on the Mainland. Much uncertainty is admitted, but one of the possibilities is that the growth of population will be exceptionally small, largely on account of many people moving to the Mainland.

But, no matter how this movement to the Mainland turns out, four things can be seen with considerable certainty.

1. Children under 15 years of age will be fewer, and they will be a smaller part of the total population.
2. Aged men and, to a smaller extent women also, will constitute a larger part of the population.
3. Among persons 20-64 years of age, a larger proportion will be females.
4. Our population will be, in larger proportion, made up of Hawaiian-born and other American-born persons; persons who by education and by the influence of early environment are, in culture, in interests, and in sentiment, closer to America than is the passing generation made up largely of immigrants.

#### *The Changing Sex Ratio*

In the case of children under fifteen years of age the sex ratio in Hawaii is and has been nearly normal, i.e., the number of females is nearly equal to the number of males. But since there has been considerable immigration there has been, in the case of older persons, a great excess of males. But when once an immigrant group including its Hawaiian-born children is established and when there is no further immigration, the sex ratio begins to move toward the normal and it may be expected to be about normal when the immigrant generation shall have been replaced by its children and grandchildren. Sometimes the process goes on more rapidly on account of the return of some of the immigrant bachelors to their native land. This was the case with the Filipinos in the last decade. The following table presents the sex ratios by racial groups for three census dates.

*Number of Males to 1000 Females*

	1920	1930	1940
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian .....	1,017	994	994
Caucasian .....	1,243	1,574	1,640
Chinese .....	2,216	1,560	1,276
Japanese .....	1,343	1,161	1,103
Korean .....	2,409	1,624	1,374
Filipino .....	4,031	5,013	3,463
Puerto Rican .....	1,269	1,197	1,133
All other .....	1,643	1,342	1,390
Total .....	1,443	1,528	1,376

For more than a generation the sex ratio was more highly abnormal in the other counties than in Honolulu County. This was largely because the more recent immigrants resided mainly on the plantations, while in Honolulu City were found many of those who had lived in Hawaii so long that their sex ratio was on the way toward the normal. This has given Honolulu County a more nearly normal sex ratio despite the fact that the presence of the men in military and naval service tended to create an opposite result. But in the last ten years the ratio has fallen less than usual for Honolulu County and much more for the other counties, so that there is at present no great difference among the counties.

*Number of Males to 1000 Females*

	<i>Honolulu County</i>	<i>The Other Counties</i>
1930	1421	1673
1940	1365	1393

This relative increase in the number of females means, of course, that a larger proportion of the men will be married and will live normally in homes. Doubtless most of the people who read this know how important home life is, how it contributes to the maintenance of moral standards, to the process of Americanization which has been important for more than a generation and to general social stability. In 1930 the men of Hawaii, the males 21 years or over, numbered 129,292. There were 63,510 women of the same age group,—not quite half as many. There were 53,948 married women. There were, therefore, 75,344 men without wives in Hawaii and only a little more than two-thirds as many with wives. When the men shall be 80 percent married instead of 42 percent as in 1930, the community will be a different community.

MORALE IN HAWAII  
BERNHARD HORMANN

The morale problem of the men in the army and navy stationed in Hawaii, always peculiar to an outpost, has been made more acute by the recent increase in their numbers as a consequence of the developing national emergency. It is the purpose of this paper to seek to put this problem into a somewhat broader perspective. That the white man suffers physically and morally in the tropics is a generally accepted notion. It is a common saying that in Manila a white woman first loses her complexion, then her health, and finally her morals. Somerset Maugham is a master in depicting this process of deterioration. It is, however, now recognized that not climate, but isolation is the major factor involved. A. Grenfell Price, in his recent studies on the white man in the tropics, points out that the white man in China and India is as much subject to deterioration as the white man in Singapore and Manila. Isolation from home, friends, from one's centers of cultural creativity and the consequent lack of mental stimulation—these are involved in the process of deterioration.

This is a problem with which military authorities have long found it difficult to cope, but it is present wherever, as in India, Indo-China, Panama, Hawaii, a government stations troops overseas at a great distance from home.

The military authorities responsible for the troops in Hawaii have had the problem much in mind. In 1936 Major-General Hugh A. Drum, testifying before the House Sub-committee on Military Appropriations, stated that the program for the men in Hawaii included "first, health, contentment, and welfare of the command. We have accomplished excellent results along these lines. Except for mental diseases we have a better record than on the mainland. In venereal diseases we have a better record. Our mental disease record is slightly higher than in the mainland but less than in Panama."

The very fact that the army in Hawaii has had a mental disease rate in between the rates of Panama and the mainland helps to point out Hawaii's anomalous position. Hawaii is, to be sure, an outpost, separated by more than two thousand ocean miles from California, a land where the white race is in the minority. But Hawaii is also in every sense of the word America, "an integral part of the United States," a typical American community—its schools, theatres, shops, restaurants, streets, churches, hotels, newspapers, and the social life of its Caucasian citizens have all dominated the life in Hawaii for so long that they can no longer be looked at as transplantations. The newcomer to Hawaii senses this, as can be seen by the frequent expressions of disappointment on the part of tourists in search of the South Sea flavor. The soldier and sailor also sense it and tend at first to feel at home here. But their feeling of at homeness is disturbed by the exotic aspects. They are in a sense in an ambivalent position.

Morale is a term signifying the ability of a society to mobilize for and sustain action. In war it is the will to fight. The psychologist, G. Stanley Hall, writing just after the end of the last war, described morale as simply this—"to keep ourselves, body and soul, and our environment, physical, social, industrial, etc., always at the very tip-top of condition." The philosopher and student of human nature, William E. Hocking, wrote as a result of his experiences at the front in France, "Perhaps the simplest way of explaining the meaning of morale is to say that what 'condition' is to the athlete's body, morale is to the mind. Morale is condition; good morale is good condition of the inner man . . . It is both fighting-power and staying-power and the strength to resist the mental infections which fear, discouragement, and fatigue bring with them, such as eagerness for any kind of peace if only it gives momentary relief, or the irritability that sees large the defects in one's own side until they seem more important than the need of defeating the enemy." "The 1933 report of the secretary of war states that "the unailing formula for production of morale is patriotism, self-respect, discipline, and self-confidence within a military unit, joined with fair treatment and merited appreciation from without."

In the same report the secretary of war writes that "the only unchanging element in armies is man himself. On the battlefield he is emotional, sometimes unreliable, and easily incapacitated, but in his mental, moral, and physical characteristics he is not noticeably different from the soldier of twenty-five centuries ago."

New inventions, secret weapons suddenly sprung on the enemy change the character of warfare and often give a temporary advantage to the side producing them, but most students of war seem to emphasize just as much the importance of the staying power of morale of an army in its ultimate victory. Not always enough. The two seem, however, frequently to go hand in hand. A nation with high morale is able to create new ways of war.

Now if it is true that man's essential characteristics as a fighter remain through the centuries unchanged, then this psychological element of morale, which admittedly varies in intensity and power from epoch to epoch and nation to nation, must be related to definitely identifiable elements in the situation. One of these is undoubtedly the very fact of numbers. Morale is a product of collective behavior. It cannot be developed in isolation. Even the athlete who, as an individual, strives to maintain his physical condition is affected by collective symbols, by the approval or disapproval of his fellowmen. We must, in order to understand morale, look at it as a collective social phenomenon.

Morale of the individual seems to be highest (a) when his society has high morale and (b) when he has a definite status in that society.<sup>1</sup> In the modern army and navy the soldier and

<sup>1</sup> Blumer, writing about the importance of a belief in the rightness of a cause for the development of morale, says, "These beliefs yield to the members of a movement a marked confidence in themselves."

sailor are not only the representatives of the armed forces, they are above all representatives of the nation.

It follows that in Hawaii the soldier or sailor will have high morale if he senses high morale in the nation and if he has a sense of his definite place in the scheme of things.

Regarding the former point, the morale of the nation at large, it is not the purpose of this paper to speak.

Morale, when low, can be built up in a number of ways. One way is through an appeal to the mass<sup>2</sup> like that used in advertising. Pictured advertisements of the nationally advertised products now frequently use the man in uniform. The movies are emphasizing the uniform. The present campaign in behalf of the U.S.O. is also addressed to all of us. Such an appeal can be as effective in insular Hawaii as on the mainland.

Morale may also be intensified by crowd behavior. It is in the ecstatic milling connected with this form of collective behavior that "the individual is stripped," in the words of Blumer, "of much of his conscious ordinary behavior, and is rendered malleable by the crucible of collective excitement." In critical times the whole nation may in a sense mill. Everyone becomes more suggestible. It seems in general that in respect to this kind of crowd behavior Hawaii has lagged during the present emergency. At least it is a general comment of visitors from the coast that people here are less tense.

It is of course not true that mere tension, mere excitement, constitutes morale, unless the tension can be organized around some object capable of holding the sustained interest of the people.

The free discussion in a public of a highly controversial issue, leading finally to a decision on the issues involved can lead to a very high type of morale, the type which we associate peculiarly with democracy. Due to the distance from the centers of discussion and the fact that Hawaii's electorate is not a part of the national electorate, discussion in Hawaii is more circumscribed than on the mainland.

Morale withers unless it is constantly reenforced by communication from the community to the individual and from the individual back again to the community. The morale of the armed forces must be strengthened by contact with, encouragement from civilians in the community for whom the fighting is to be done. The morale of a brave army is, as we all know, soon conveyed back to the civilians.

Honolulu has perhaps had a head start over most American cities in becoming formally organized for the purpose of building up the morale of the army and navy personnel. Hospitality Week, from March 2 to 9, 1941, was the culmination of much discussion and many meetings. Private individuals subscribed funds

<sup>2</sup> Blumer lists the following distinguishable features for the mass: "First, its membership may come from all walks of life, and from all distinguishable social strata . . . Secondly, the mass is an anonymous group, or more exactly, is composed of anonymous individuals. Third, there exists little interaction or exchange of experience between the members of the mass. Fourth, the mass is very loosely organized."

making it possible for the Library of Hawaii to be open from three to five o'clock every Sunday afternoon until June. On the first two Sundays in March the library opened its doors with a special invitation to service men. Tea was served. Several hundred soldiers and sailors attended and thirty-eight took out library cards. A Mayor's Hospitality Committee with Miss Nell Findley in charge was organized and has an office in the library of the spacious Army and Navy Y.M.C.A. building. The newspapers have established regular departments giving news of the army and navy and especially lists of civilian functions to which army and navy men are invited.<sup>3</sup> Every amateur play has been thrown open to the soldiers and sailors on the night of the dress rehearsal. Bishop H. Littell and Mrs. Littell have given weekly receptions. Mrs. Littell has also been active in many other ways, such as organizing privately conducted sight-seeing tours. Another committee under Mrs. Wayne Pfeuger, holds monthly dances for the enlisted men of the navy and sees to it that dancing partners will be present.

However formal activities must be supplemented by informal contacts, the primary intimate ones typical of the family and of friendships. All students of morale recognize this.

"When the war came," writes Hall, "the noblest war brides, mothers, sweethearts, and sisters said, 'Go!' They condemned slackers . . . Women kept up every possible connection between their dear ones at the front and their home, concealing everything that would cause pain and showing only courage and good cheer, disguising everything that was bad and discouraging, slow to criticize but swift to praise and hearten, and themselves bearing up if their loved ones were wounded, crippled, or even slain, with a composure and heroism which none, least of all they themselves, dreamed they possessed. The reveries of a happy home-coming, dreams sometimes not to be realized, are often the chief consoler in hardships at the front, where home is idealized as nowhere else."

According to Miss Nell Findley, chairman of the Mayor's Hospitality Committee the morale of the men in the services is "improving". There is also evidence that the community is responding more and more wholeheartedly to the program for improving relations between the civilians in the community and the men.<sup>3</sup>

French, English, and even German men-of-war have in the years since the World War visited Honolulu, and the officers, cadets, and enlisted men have been so royally entertained that the visit in Hawaii is usually considered a high point in the trip abroad. Luaus, balls, picnics have characterized these visits. If such a scale of entertainment has not yet been attained in Honolulu during the present national emergency, this paper may have

suggested some of the difficulties in the way: distance from home and Hawaii's anomalous position. It has also been suggested that these difficulties can be faced and that a good beginning has been made in this direction. We may, therefore, expect an improvement in the morale of our men under arms stationed in Hawaii.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Mayor's Entertainment Committee, a total of 319 different individuals and organizations, including civic and fraternal groups, churches, and schools offered entertainments of one sort or another to 29,167 different members of the military forces on the island of Oahu in the form of dances, theatricals, open houses and teas, and sight seeing. In view of the aggregate number of men stationed in the Islands, these figures appear somewhat less impressive. (Ibid.)



# SOCIAL EFFECTS OF INCREASED INCOME OF DEFENSE WORKERS OF ORIENTAL ANCESTRY IN HAWAII

YUKIKO KIMURA

## *Extent And Nature of the Movement*

The urgency of the defense program has called forth the labor of any able-bodied citizen in the Territory eighteen years of age or over. The payment, ranging from sixty cents to one dollar per hour, is a great attraction to young people of Oriental ancestry, who have been earning from \$65 to \$100 or so per month. Overtime work is paid at least one and one half times as much as regular work. Even those without any skill and without any overtime work have an income of at least \$115 per month, and many boys who have some skill earn from \$250 to \$350 or more per month. Consequently a great number of young men leave their previous jobs in order to work defense projects.<sup>1</sup> The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association states that there has been a decrease of 800 plantation workers in the Territory during the four months from January to the end of April this year.<sup>2</sup> Some of this decrease may be due to the return of Filipinos, who are not American citizens. There have, however, been over 300 fewer Filipinos going to their homeland during the six months ending June 30 than during the previous six months<sup>3</sup>, a partial indication that there have been more jobs for them, either on defense projects or jobs vacated by other young men accepting defense employment. At any rate the general loss of the young workers on the plantations is chiefly due to their movement into defense industry.<sup>4</sup>

Not only on the plantation but in the city of Honolulu a great many carpenters, machinists, welders, truck drivers, stevedores, and even unskilled laborers have gone into defense work. "We simply can't get carpenters" is a painful cry of every contractor. Contractors cannot compete with the high wages offered on defense projects. "Only old carpenters and painters remain to meet the needs of the civilian residents." Because of the shortage of these services, there is an increasing importation of

1 The term "defense worker" here applies to both those employed directly by the Federal Government and those employed by the contracting companies which work for the Federal Government. In the former most of those of Chinese ancestry and some of the Korean ancestry are included while in the latter most of those of the Japanese ancestry as well as many of the Chinese and Korean ancestries are included. In both cases the kinds of work they do and the demands they are to meet and the rules they are to follow are practically the same and the wages are from two to five times as high as what they were earning previously.

2 The total number of the sugar plantation workers are 34,749 in January 1941. At the end of April 1941 the number decreased to 33,946, the lowest number employed since before 1900.

3 Another explanation for decrease of the Filipinos returning to Philippine is due to the elimination of the third class passage on the steamships.

4 One of the plantations on Oahu revealed that about 150 young men left for defense work. One hundred of these are of Oriental ancestry, mostly Japanese, who are skilled artisans. The rest are mainly Filipinos who went to defense work as common laborers. One plantation on Maui reported a loss of 235 or 6 percent of its workers between January and June. While the plantations cannot pay wages as high as those in defense work, the permanency of the jobs and other provisions, such as free rent, free fuel and water, free medical care cause many of the older generation parents to discourage their children from leaving the plantations. But the emigration goes on nevertheless.

skilled artisans from other islands. According to a real estate man, however, these men stay only for a month or so before they too enter defense work. Consequently, in spite of the prevailing boom, there is no noticeable increase in the building of private homes.

According to the largest loan company in Honolulu, there was a 30 per cent increase in loans for home building last year over the previous year. But this year owing to the shortage of carpenters, there is no noticeable increase.

In business and industry, work requiring heavy labor is greatly affected by the defense program since the available girls cannot replace men. There is a real shortage of truck drivers. One large transfer company has lost all drivers of Chinese and Japanese ancestries, although they have not suffered a shortage because "there are plenty of Filipino men to replace them."

One of the dairies reports raising the wages of their workers in order to keep them. Although their wages are still below that offered for defense work, the permanency of employment has kept men with families. In restaurants, a great many waiters of Chinese and Japanese ancestries have been replaced by girls as well as by Filipino men.

One taxi company has employed fifteen girls as drivers to replace their men. One automobile service company has employed ten girls to do the service formerly performed by men.

Not only those already employed but a great many of the high school students and graduates have gone into defense work during the month of June. Two hundred students at McKinley High School indicated their intention before school closed to work but the estimated number actually engaged is much greater. Farrington High School estimated 200 students as a conservative figure in addition to those working only during the summer. From Roosevelt High School approximately 70 boys have gone into defense work. The number from rural high schools is not available but it is reported that boys old enough would prefer defense work to that on the cane fields or in the pineapple canneries. While the private high schools show a smaller number, there is a definite trend to go into defense work instead of other seasonal jobs. The Hawaiian Pineapple Company reports 60 per cent fewer University students applying this year for a summer work, which they consider due to the high wages of defense work.

As already indicated, the defense program attracts not only the young men of Honolulu and the rural areas of the Island of Oahu but also those of other islands. According to the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, 15,000 more of passengers from other islands have remained in Oahu during the past year than during the previous year. We must admit, of course, that this number includes women and children and others not engaged in defense work, undoubtedly. The greater part of the increase can be ascribed to the urgency of defense program and its economic attraction.

Such an exodus of young men to Oahu inevitably affects the communities from which they came. Correspondence from Maui,

Hawaii, and Kauai to the relatives and friends on Oahu reveal a general depression in business. A decrease of about 20 per cent in the sale of household appliances is reported from Hawaii. The beer halls are empty and amusement places have lost their youthful customers. "We have no young men. We are short of truck drivers and carpenters. We know that we are going to have a real problem in the coffee picking season this fall," write teachers from the Kona District on Hawaii.

Married men usually come alone and send their families part of their earnings, but after a few months many of them call their families to Honolulu. The effect of the exodus of families is not silent. One Japanese language school on Hawaii had to be closed, and two on Maui are on the verge of closing, owing to small attendance and lack of supporters.

The influx of such a great number of people to Oahu has naturally created a serious problem of housing in already crowded Honolulu.<sup>5</sup> Houses are rented even when only the foundations are completed. But for many families there is no house available. Relatives and friends are obliged to share their lodgings with them, often converting the living room and every available space into bed rooms. Boarding houses, rooming houses and cheap hotels, particularly those in the Palama and River Street districts have tripled and quadrupled their usual capacities, and they are greatly overcrowded.

#### *Economic Effects*

What does this tremendous increase of income mean to the young people earning it? Does it mean more saving or more investment or more spending? Banks indicate approximately 50% increase in savings during the past six months. While an accurate racial classification is not available, Orientals have increased in about the same proportion as others. One insurance company indicated a 25 percent increase in life insurance premiums among the Orientals during the past six months, but another company considers the present increase as quite normal.

The interviews with defense workers revealed that many of them do attempt to save. They all have in mind that this boom is only temporary. The following statement reveals the general attitude of those who save: "I used to earn \$30 a week. I spent most of it on girls. Now I earn \$75 a week. At first I thought of buying a house and renting it to some one else. I still live with my parents but I would like to prepare for my future. But I changed my mind and I save instead. I am not going to get married for a couple of years. But I can prepare for it. I know this boom is temporary. I must prepare myself for the bad times coming after this." Saving naturally occurs more commonly among the young men residing with their own families who warn them about the temporary nature of the boom. Saving occurs also among the married men, although they commonly invest first in modern household conveniences such as re-

<sup>5</sup> According to an informed quarter there was an increase of 11,000 people from the mainland between January and April.

frigerators and washing machines and in the rental of better houses.

Many of the boys increase their contributions to their parents. Two brothers send about \$150 each month to their parents on one of the other islands, and the father, feeling prosperous, comes to see his sons frequently, sometimes even by airplane. Three brothers in another family have increased the family income from \$250 to \$1,000 per month. They bought a car, an electric refrigerator, washing machine and other modern conveniences. In another family where three sons are in defense work, the father has retired from active work. Young boys just out of high school usually give from one-half to two-thirds of their earnings to their parents. In some cases where they give the entire earnings to their parents they receive an allowance of \$5 or so per week, and the parents save or spend the increased income. In most instances the parents also buy electric or gas refrigerators and washing machines. In some cases the increased income is saved for the education of the younger members of the family.

Occasionally, however, contributions to the family are decreased or discontinued. This seems to occur more commonly among the boys from other islands. This is perhaps not surprising in view of the individualizing influence of city life. "Since A came to Honolulu, he hasn't sent a penny to his parents," or "the boys who were earning \$60 or \$70 per month gave their parents \$10 or \$15." "Now they don't increase their contribution but instead they give them no more," are remarks frequently made by older relatives or friends of deserted families on other islands. On the other hand, one hears that "boys who don't think of their parents come away to Honolulu," "only those who seek good times and freedom leave their islands," "boys are not satisfied to stay at home. They always want to come to Honolulu to get better jobs," indicating that the boys coming to Honolulu were ambitious or restless or deviates before they came, although the bohemian atmosphere of city life, particularly that of the rooming house and cheap hotels may have increased their degeneration.

#### *Lavish Expenditures*

As already indicated, young people have "a lot of money to spend" even after they put aside a generous amount for savings and family contributions. But in many cases young people have more interest in spending than saving because they know that "the big money is coming in next week." This spending seems to be more conspicuous at the beginning, "because it is the first time that they have so much money at their disposal." The following statements reveal their attitudes toward their increased pay. "We say to each other 'better to save for the rainy day! but we don't save, because we know that the money is coming next week.'" "When I received my pay check, I thought of all things I could get hold of." "I felt exalted when I received my first pay check. The first thing which came to my mind was how to spend it. I don't know how but I spent it all." "I used to earn \$15 per week. Now I get \$35 per week. What to do with

this money was the first thing which came to my mind. I buy things twice as expensive now. I eat out freely." "After I received my pay check I bought a wrist watch costing \$50 for myself, for my wife, for my father and mother. Then I decided to buy a refrigerator and piano on installment. Now I have to pay the bill for these.

Buying cars seems to be one of the most popular things the boys do with their increased income. This is more evident among the local boys than those from other islands because of the lack of parking space around the rooming houses and cheap hotels. Another reason may be that as newcomers to Honolulu, the boys have few friends, particularly girls, to entertain. While most of the cars are bought on installments, payments of \$40 or more monthly have become quite easy for the Oriental boys. The used car companies report an increase of 70 per cent in business among Orientals during the past five months, a great deal of it being in the exchange of old cars for better ones.<sup>6</sup>

Clothing sales have also increased among Orientals during the six months from January first, or approximately 15 per cent according to first class and second class clothing dealers. The increase has been in the sale of suits and sports wear rather than slacks, and in more expensive qualities as well as better styles. The boys state: "I used to pay from 85c to \$1.50 for a pair of my working trousers and shirt but now I pay from \$1.50 to \$2 and quarter." "Now we pay about \$35 to \$50 for a new suit, or a pair of pants \$13." "We buy better shoes and more expensive shirts." However, the boys show far less interest in clothing than in other things and one reason may be that they can not dress too well for the groups with which they associate. Dressing up has to be in accordance with the level and prevailing style of the group to which one belongs. If aloha shirts and slacks are the level of the group one can acquire better qualities of these. Fifth Avenue styles would be most out of place. The climate and outdoor life of the Islanders require simple attire.

The movie theaters report that moving picture attendance has not increased among Orientals. The increase is due to the service personnel. According to the management of the theaters the young people go to the movies not because they have money but because the pictures appeal to them. The manager of a theater showing Japanese pictures exclusively, states the films available now are not popular among the young American-born Japanese. The Japanese government does not allow the production of frivolous pictures, and the pictures imported are too stiff for the second generation boys and girls. A great many boys, however, stated that they could go to a different movie every night if they had nothing else to do, but one would do this "not because the show is interesting but there is no other place to go." Spending their leisure at the movie theaters seems to be more general among the boys from other islands, who are staying at the rooming houses and hotels. Among all Oriental boys, the average attendance is between two or three times a week.

Among other recreations, bowling and pool show increased participation. According to the largest bowling alley in Honolulu the number of customers has been doubled during the five months from January and most of them are young Orientals. The management of the two largest pool rooms reported about 25 per cent increase in customers and from 80 to 100 per cent in monetary business among the Orientals as well as service personnel during the same period of time. They stated that there was a definite sign of prosperity among the customers.

Taxi dance halls are mentioned by some of the Oriental boys. "When there is no place to go it is not bad to go there," they say. They state that taxi dance halls are as expensive as other dance halls, since it costs ten cents per dance lasting about one minute, and if they dance steadily for an hour, it often amounts to six dollars. Most of the Honolulu boys, however, do not go to taxi dance halls. There is a definite attitude of contempt toward taxi dance halls and those attending. For a great many boys dancing provides an opportunity to have a good time with their friends or to meet "nice girls." It is not just a recreational satisfaction but dancing has a social meaning. Therefore, they prefer other public dance halls where dinner may be served such as Kewalo Inn, Waialae Golf Club, or Lau Yee Chai. Those places indicated about 25 per cent increase in business among young Orientals during the five months period from January to May. However, there is a contrary trend also. According to the management of one popular "Dine and Dance" place, there is almost an entire disappearance of their former Oriental customers who have been mainly displaced by service personnel. This seems to be due to the fact that the Oriental boys feel out of place among the predominantly haole group and have gradually ceased to come. A similar situation is revealed by the management of another resort. The 25 per cent increase in business there among the Orientals is mainly for luncheons and dinners sponsored by groups. Very few individuals come to the regular dance and those who do are very hesitant about entering.

The boys usually spend an average of \$10.00 for a dinner dance which includes service of liquor. "We drink whisky and mixed drinks. They cost from 35c to 50c an ounce or a glass. Some girls drink seven or eight glasses and boys have to cope with that in order to be sociable." Without dinner, it costs from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per couple. Drinks between dances increase the expense. The cost of a rented car per evening is \$10. It seems to be a necessity to have a car when they invite girls.

Eating at restaurants is more frequent among Oriental boys than formerly. Those from other islands staying in the cheap hotels and rooming houses report that they spend from \$40 to \$50 per month for their meals. The boys also indicated a tremendous increase in the cost of food at the restaurants within the past few months. However, there is much more extravagant expenditure on food. "We eat out more freely" is their typical expression. The downtown restaurants indicated from 80 to 100

per cent increase in business among the Orientals. In this connection the increase in drinking is quite significant. Those places where liquor is served reported a 50 to 80 per cent increase in drinking. They stated that the young people go from one restaurant to another and drink at several different places in an evening. Boys indicated that even in the daytime, particularly on pay days, they drink. One boy stated "in order to cash our check we go to a liquor store nearby and buy a bottle costing about \$4. Most of the time we drink a few glasses right there. We often stop on our way back from work and have a drink." "Let's have a drink," is our common form of greeting now."

There is also an indication of extravagance in tipping. Instead of 10 per cent of the cost of the food, they pay about 25 per cent, at least 25c for a tip even when their meal costs only 40 cents or 50 cents. There is not only an increase in drinking but an increased consumption of costly liquor. One boy stated "when I was earning \$15 per week, I helped my parents out of that and I still knew how to enjoy evenings. I was satisfied with \$1 a bottle liquor. Now I buy whisky costing at least \$2.50 a bottle." The manager of a liquor concern also reported that the second generation Orientals who used to buy \$2 a bottle liquor buy \$3 to \$4 a bottle liquor now. He also stated that 70 per cent of the liquor consumed by the second generation Japanese is liquor such as whisky, gin, brandy and rum. Only 30 per cent is beer. None of them drink "sake" unless invited to a wedding party where it is served as part of the ceremony. He also indicated an increase in private house parties where hard liquor is served. There is also some increase in tea house parties, although it is mostly among the older second generation who state that it costs from \$6 to \$10 per person just for a gay party. Those who are earning \$300 or more a month go there often, about once a week on pay day. Those who earn less go sometimes for an adventure.

Gambling also is greatly discussed in connection with the increased income of the defense workers. According to the report of the Police Department the number of arrests for gambling in April and May shows a noticeable increase over the previous three months. This, however, can not be ascribed wholly to the defense workers of Oriental ancestry, but includes the increased population from the Mainland United States. A great many, of course, escape arrest so that the figures do not indicate the full extent of gambling among the Oriental boys. The following statements give some understanding of the problem. "My friend A spends all his money on gambling and goes home broke every pay day." "Yes, some fellows gamble and lose the whole week's pay plus the next week's. Lucky ones gain as much as \$100 to \$120 even in the lunch hour. They usually gamble in a car or a near-by place outside the defense site, or sometimes at home." "Yes, many lose all their week's pay on pay day. Three-fourths of the single men indulge in gambling." "Sometimes they become the victims of the professional gamblers, some of whom came from the Mainland while some are from other islands. They rent

houses or rooms in town, to which they invite the inexperienced. They let the amateurs win the first few times and let them have a good time before they suck every penny out of them."

### *Sociological Significance*

What is the sociological significance of these phenomena? First of all this exodus of young men from the other islands is a type of mass migration, although it is individually motivated. The economic advantages derived from defense work are strong enough to counteract the traditional family resistance to mobility. Under normal conditions, the Americanized younger generation has little opportunity for personal advancement under the limitations of the rural situation. Convention demands that he place family obligations foremost. Moreover, the economic situation is such as to provide little opportunity for financial or social advancement. But under the stress of the present emergency, a much higher valuation is placed upon his abilities, whether they are those of a skilled artisan or merely an unskilled laborer. Under these unusual circumstances, the widespread, but frequently unexpressed and even unsuspected, desire to break away from the provincial atmosphere and parental restraints is accorded social approval, since the young man can thereby advance the family interests.

It is probably true, however, that the more ambitious, the more dissatisfied, and the more restless young people are those who respond most readily to the expanding opportunities of the city, while those who are conservative or satisfied or less ambitious remain at home. Naturally this selection is reflected in the behavior of the defense workers in the city.

The call to defense work is a stimulating experience for the young men. The demand for workers seems to be unlimited, and here, for the first time, they appear to be indispensable. Thus they acquire a new valuation of themselves, a new sense of self esteem. The common expression of young Oriental defense workers, "I got a great thrill when I received my first pay check," is not merely in response to the greater economic power which the check provided, but is an evidence of the personal satisfaction derived from controlling their own affairs. When they were working at home under their parents or their neighbors, there was always a certain amount of traditional social control over their behavior. They were part of the traditional family group and their contribution was shared within the group. Now their employment is individualized and their attitudes likewise have become individualized.

There is an inevitable change in the status of the defense workers at home as a consequence of their increased economic value to the family. Such expressions as "The folks treat us like kings now," "Their parents have no control over them now," "They won't listen to their parents," indicate the changing status and role of the young people in their families, whether they are away from home or not. Their ability to earn more than their parents and to expend this money at their own will naturally

gives the young people a sense of great power and stimulates their desire to exercise it. Statements such as "After all I am the one who earns the money. Why not spend it the way I want to?" "I thought of all the things I could get hold of," reveal a sudden release of wishes previously repressed. While some of the more conservative may have developed self control which extends also to this realm, the inclination of most is to spend the money for purely personal satisfactions.

The desire for new experience is given an added means of satisfaction through the suddenly acquired affluence. Drinking and gambling undoubtedly function in this respect, although there may be such other social and psychological values to the individuals as establishing prestige in a group or furnishing a sense of independence or smartness, or compensations for loneliness. The purchase of automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, etc. is not only an indication of a craving for these conveniences and comforts but also of an underlying desire for social status and for a higher standard of living previously denied them.

The disorganization growing out of new experience seems to be greater among those who are away from home. Freedom from the parental supervision or neighborhood control of a rural or plantation community is a factor contributing to the relaxation of their usual standards of conduct. They are still unacquainted in the city and no vital contacts with any stabilizing groups have been established. There is nothing to take the place of their traditional controls. Moreover, the bohemian atmosphere of the city, particularly of the rooming houses or hotels, while stimulating, is also disorganizing. The mere change of residence, especially when it is accompanied by an extremely different mode of life, places heavy adjustive demands upon the individual, which many are unable to meet successfully.

The mode of adjustment in most instances is to become urbanized, i.e., like their new environment. In contrast with most of the permanent residents of this city, who have their family and other primary group ties which stabilize conduct, the boys from the other islands can easily become mere unattached individuals, without moral moorings or personal security. Mere physical proximity as provided in the crowded hotels in the congested areas of the city where they reside is no guarantee of intimacy or warmth of association. Mentally they are detached individuals, psychological wanderers. Moreover, the absence of membership in and moral obligation to any group may easily produce a habit of behavior which is not in accordance with any moral standard but merely governed by impulse and appetite. One may feel free to indulge his appetites for their own sake, in such vices as drinking, gambling, and sex. Detachment can become habituated as one's mode of life. There may even develop a certain identification of himself with a psychological group of deviates.

In most instances, however, the life of detachment does not give the individuals any very satisfying experience. Such expressions as "I have no place to go. So I go to the movies every night," "I have no friends. So I go to Taxi dance halls. "We don't know

what to do with our evenings, so we go out and wander about the streets. We naturally stop at the beer halls and up with drinking," reveal the efforts made to overcome their boredom or loneliness. Drinking and gambling seem to serve as a means of relief.

There has been some disposition for certain of these detached individuals to gravitate into congeniality groups which develop standards of conduct compelling upon the members. The experiment of the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. among island defense workers reveals a strong desire of these young men, even these who seemingly manifest a great degree of deviation and independence, for companionship and wholesome recreation. Such casual remarks as "I don't gamble Friday evenings any more because I come here," "I think I would change if I came here a few more times. I feel it. The crowd I meet here is different, I thoroughly enjoy it. That's why I come back," reveal an unconscious identification of the workers with the new group and at the same time a certain standard of behavior to which they unwittingly conform.

The paramount problem confronting the defense workers is not the sudden increase of income per se although it has undoubtedly an important effect upon the individuals and families, psychologically as well as financially. The greater problem is in the sphere of social contact and the associated control. The sudden change of environment and the loss of family and neighborhood controls without the appearance of any new group associations capable of defining conduct for the individual is a more fundamental problem for this community to solve.

## A NOTE ON SOCIAL WORK TRAINING IN HAWAII

FERRIS LAUNE

It might be said that social work has been consciously practiced in the Territory of Hawaii since the arrival in 1820 of the first boat load of missionaries. Of course, the primary objective of the mission was to preach the Gospel and get converts, but along with that worthy purpose was the vague one of making life better for the residents of this island paradise. The techniques used paralleled to a considerable extent those of the social settlement of a later day, and the "social workers" were the wives of those staunch and earnest exponents of the Word of God. Teaching of sewing, health education, care of the sick, child care—all of these were included. All these, however, were in the nature of "ministrations to the poor rather than the application of planned techniques to the solving of social problems."

It was not until 1915 that the concept of specific training for social work as a profession began to emerge. At that time Miss Margaret Bergen was brought to Honolulu to assist in a reorganization of the Associated Charities, which later became the Social Service Bureau, still later the Family Consultation Service, and, since the first of this present year has been known as the Child and Family Service Association. Miss Bergen, whose background included a wide experience in social work practice both in England and the United States, supplemented with some training in schools of social work, returned to Honolulu in 1919 and became the manager of the Associated Charities. At about this same time an island born resident Miss M. L. Catton completed the course of the New York School of Social Work and began to apply in actual practice the principles and techniques in which she had received training. Mr. Clinton Childs, Director of Alexander House, Maui, who also came to the Territory during this same decade had also had prior training in social work. For several years these three were the only workers in the Territory with specific training in this field of work.

With professional schools so far from the Islands, it was practically impossible for island residents to go away for training even though there was a growing recognition of its desirability. Miss Bergen attempted to make up for this lack of educational opportunity by giving such training as was possible to members of her staff.<sup>1</sup> The Hospital Social Service Association, of which organization Miss Catton was the executive secretary, established a definite policy of requiring professional training for persons in professional positions. Following this lead, and encouraged by the United Welfare Fund, trained social workers were from time to time brought to Honolulu to fill vacancies as they occurred in the private welfare agencies. At the same time there was on

<sup>1</sup> For several years during the twenties, Miss Bergen collaborated in a course on practical problems of social work, offered in the sociology department of the University. Beginning in 1928 Miss Bergen offered an orientation course in social work for seniors and a graduate course in Methods of Social Case Work. This work was continued by Miss Nell Findley until 1936. (32d.)

the part of the Island people an increasing desire for special training in social work. In 1933 the Hawaiian Foundation started to provide scholarships for island residents for mainland study in Public Health Nursing, Home Economics, and Social Work. Several young people were enabled to go away for graduate study as a result of these scholarships.

Prior to 1936, Honolulu's Social Agencies depended entirely upon the mainland professional training for their personnel. In 1936, however, following a recommendation by the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, the University secured Miss Eileen Blackey, a trained social worker, to initiate a program in Social Work Training. Most of the courses were related to the case work field. College graduates with academic and personal qualifications for social work, and who were accepted by local social agencies for part-time or full time employment were accepted. Students were permitted time off from their social work job to take the courses. Under the original plan a student could carry one, or possibly two courses a semester toward the completion of the two years of graduate curriculum as outlined by the American Association of Schools of Social Work. Courses were offered during the year in Social Case Work, and in the summer social work courses in specialized fields were offered. In addition to the professional courses for graduate students, a survey course was offered each year for undergraduates interested in social work.

During the spring of 1940 the University decided that it was time to consolidate many of the gains made during the first four years of growth and to work toward a one-year program to be accredited by the American Association of Schools of Social Work under its Type I school plan. With this in mind the present program was set up, commencing with the fall of 1940. A Director of the program, empowered, in cooperation with the faculty of the school, to exercise control over admission requirements, was appointed on a part-time basis. Two full time faculty members were also appointed and a separate curriculum of relevant courses was established for the stated purpose of professional education for social work. This curriculum, consisting of a full academic year in graduate professional social work, is designed to meet the basic minimum curriculum of the Association of Schools of Social Work. In addition a program of field work under the educational direction of the School, and supervised by members of the School faculty was provided. Fifteen hours weekly of planned and supervised experience in the practice of social work, in local social agencies which maintain recognized professional standards, are required of each student.

On the basis of the above organization, application was made in the fall of 1940 for admission of the University of Hawaii Social Work Training Division to membership in the American Association of Schools of Social Work as a Type I school. This application was acted upon by the Executive Committee of the Association in January 1941 and the school was notified that when the period of probation was over final consideration would

be given. Dr. Marian Hathway, Executive Secretary of the Association, was designated as advisor to our school during this probationary period. Arrangements had already been made by the University for Dr. Hathway to give courses here during the 1941 summer school.

It is expected that twelve students will have completed the one year curriculum in June of this year. These students will then be eligible, under the classification standards of the Department of Social Security, to enter territorial employment. Twenty seniors at present taking the orientation course in social work have indicated an intention of going on with graduate social work training.

Admission to the school is to be limited to graduate students selected by a qualifying committee of the faculty and representatives of cooperating social agencies. Students are expected to have completed not less than thirty semester hours of social and psychological science including not less than five semester hours in each of the fields of sociology, economics, political science and psychology, or equivalents approved by the director of the course. The number of students to be accepted will be limited by the number of field work assignments available.

It would seem that the Territory has made a good start toward training workers for the welfare work of the Islands and although the University course is of only one year, that one year will compare favorably with the one year course of most schools on the mainland. As to openings for trained workers in this field, it is likely that the demand will continue for many years. In many fields of social work here in Hawaii we are just beginning to demand trained workers. In the schools, the courts, the hospitals, and the recreation agencies there will from time to time be additions to the staff requiring personnel trained to deal with the adjustment of social problems. With the one year graduate training course at the University and with provision for scholarships for the most promising workers for further study, the Territory will soon find itself in the forefront of United States communities in its provisions for qualified personnel for social service work.